TO DO RIGHT TO GOD AND MAN: NORTHERN PROTESTANTS AND THE KANSAS STRUGGLE

1854--1859

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To my wife
who shared the long march--
and who now herself shares
the struggle of making
a suitable votive offering
to Clio

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.H.M.S. - - American Baptist Home Missionary Society

A.H.M.S. - - American Home Missionary Society

A.U.A. - - American Unitarian Association

K.H.Q. - - *Kansas Historical Quarterly*

K.S.H.S. - - Kansas State Historical Society

K.S.H.S. Coll. - - *Kansas State Historical Society Collections*

K.T. - - Kansas Territory

PREFACE

The struggle for control of Kansas Territory, 1854-1861, is often viewed as a prelude to the civil war. Certainly a case can be made that northerners, southerners, and westerners competed for power there, acted and talked in ways that prefigured the actions and words of the war period itself. But another angle of vision on the struggle is provided by viewing its religious dimensions, in both the narrow and the broad sense of religion.[1]

In the narrow sense, the religious dimensions of the struggle for Kansas take the form of extensive missionary efforts, especially on the part of certain denominations, which are both part of and parallel to the immigration patterns to Kansas from the three major regions of the country. In the broad sense, the religious dimensions of the Kansas struggle are seen to reflect operative religious worldviews; these include public, especially political behavior, and the ways in which spokesmen for certain cultural, social and economic ideals addressed themselves to the interpretation of events and trends in the new territory.

In both senses of religion, churchmen, especially those from the northern states, undertook significant activity during the Kansas struggle. A study of their activities and words sheds light on the struggle, particularly with regard to the ways in

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which people were given interpretations of the issues and the cultural stakes of the Kansas conflict. As Henry May has suggested, most Americans of this and other periods considered ultimate questions in the language of Christian theology.[2] In this, the Kansas struggle was no exception.

This study does not cover all the churches active in the territory, nor does it cover all northern churchmen. Rather, it focuses attention on certain northern Protestants, most of whom were politically active for the Free-state cause. There are three major approaches toward the role of these selected individuals. The first is to see their work in the context of the western missionary enterprise in terms of both its denomination-building and its culture-making goals. The second is to view the relationship between these northern Protestants and the Free-state movement. And the third is to examine the relationship between these same persons and the three under-groups also present in the territory, that is, Blacks, Indians and the poorer white settlers.

The study demonstrates the ways in which these northern Protestants viewed themselves, the ways in which they worked toward both ecclesiastical and socio-political goals, and what some of the consequences of their activities were. The study concludes that by their ideology and their practice, these lay and clerical Protestants from the northern states contributed significantly to the success of the Free-state movement, to the dominance of northern-approved societal models and customs in the territory, and to the re-affirmation of certain behavioral patterns toward the undergroups in American society.

The thesis of the study is that the linkage of actions and attitudes of these northern Protestants is formed from three elements:

> First, their identity as mid-century Protestants from the north, an identity which included denominational values, missionary motivations and traditions, and a regionalistic sense of the attributes of the proper civilization for themselves and others;
>
> second, northern (especially New England) loyalties and societal models which they saw as embodied particularly in the Free-state movement and the enterprise-capital system;
>
> and third, the above two complexes of value and vision converging into a self-chosen and socially-ratified stance of legitimation of the status quo as a proper role for churchmen in society.

The thesis depends upon an analysis of selected churchmens' ecclesiastical work, political and social activities, and their public and private comments on events in Kansas Territory; and a synthesis of these elements in terms of the dynamics of their role in territorial society. As the appendix to this study suggests, the author's perspectives which underlay the work and its conclusions are drawn from many sources, including what has been termed the "radical" style of doing American history.

The scholar who does not realize and readily acknowledge indebtedness to predecessors and colleagues surely fails in truthfulness as well as in courtesy. In the related fields of American history and American religious history, this writer stands upon the shoulders of many individuals. I can only mention a few here. From Walter Petry of Fairfield University, I first encountered the joyful burden of doing history. From the writings of Jesse Lemisch, Staughton Lynd and many other historians, I first saw the possibility of doing history from a radical angle of vision. Emory Lindquist, President of Wichita State University and Kansas historian, made my way easier by his monographs and edited manuscripts in Kansas religious history. Several generations of historians of Kansas, from Sara T. L. Robinson through James C. Malin and other living historians, have helped me appreciate the richness and complexity of the territorial period there. To Thomas Luckmann, sociologist, I owe the concept of "legitimation." To the men and women, past and present, of the Kansas State Historical Society, especially Joseph Snell and Joseph Gambone, I owe an immense debt for their collection of materials in manuscript and in their publications and for their unfailing courtesy. To the librarians of the Graduate Theological Union, the University of California at Berkeley, and to Catherine Goldsmith, librarian of the Missouri Valley Room of the Kansas City (Mo.) Public Library, I am grateful for many services. Sr. Noreen Hurter and Sr. Kathleen Egan of the Benedictine College library have been unstinting in their provision of quiet spaces for writing

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and interlibrary loans. James S. Dalton, friend and colleague, provided some excellent critical feed-back at an important stage of this study. Special thanks are due to Professors Regina Hansen, O.S.B., and Francis P. Carpinelli of the English Department at Benedictine College, for agreeing to help me make the final text stylistically correct and more clear. Lastly, I should like to thank my doctoral committee. Dr. Leonard J. Trinterud, the first director, was unfailing in his time and guidance across the many miles that separated us during this study's research and writing. Dr. Eldon Ernst, who graciously assumed the burden of direction after Dr. Trinterud's retirement, has in his personal kindness and trenchant criticisms enabled this writer to sustain interest and momentum in a study which faced the demanding competition of full-time teaching. And lastly, thanks are due to Dr. Harland Hogue, whose courses were among the first that led me onto the fascinating grounds of nineteenth-century American religion. Needless to say, to all of the above persons, I am grateful, but assume the full responsibility for any shortcomings which may still be present in the study.

Benedictine College
Atchison, Kansas
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[1] By narrow and broad here, I intend something like the distinction Peter Berger makes between his idea of religion and that of Thomas Luckmann. For Berger, religion is the human enterprise which posits a sacred cosmos that "sticks out" from the profane. For Luckman, says Berger, religion is "the capacity of the human organism to transcend its biological nature through the construction of objective, morally binding, all-embracing universes of meaning." Berger, The Sacred Canopy: Elements of A Sociological Theory of Religion. Anchor Books (New York: Doubleday, 1969), pp. 176-177.

[2] Cf. Henry May, "The Recovery of American Religious History," American Historical Review, vol. 70, p. 79.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a study of certain Protestants from northern states active in the struggle for the control of Kansas Territory from 1854 to 1859. It concerns both the directly ecclesiastical work and the political and social impact of the churchmens' activities. During those years and within that field of conflict, significant numbers of northern Protestants engaged in activities which built congregations and churches, mounted campaigns in the area of personal and social reforms, and, with varying degrees of involvement, participated in the political activity which eventually insured the prohibition of slavery within Kansas' borders. This study addresses itself to various activities of churchmen and the self-understanding which underlay their behavior. It also argues that the key to understanding both their work and their impact upon the territerial scene lies in seeing them as legitimators of the society emergent during the territorial years. It maintains that churchmen saw their role as society-building as well as congregation-building, and that for them, the gospel and "civilization," indeed a particular kind of civilization, were correlatives.

The area and time period were chosen because they offered a managable subject for research into an important example of interpenetration between churches and society.[1] Within these five years, 1854-1859, and within the bounds of Kansas Territory, it also becomes possible to touch on many of the conflicts that divided the nation at mid-century. This includes not just the slavery-extension issue, but also land and railroad capitalism, the pre-Homestead Act scrambling for farm and town land, the clash of regional visions and the continuation of Indian removal to make room for white settlement. Simply by their presence, northern churchmen were significant, taking their place as actors in or sometimes subjects of the various conflicts. But many of these churchmen, both clerical and lay, perceived a direct connection between their Christianity and their civic behavior in Kansas Territory. Especially in their active associations with political and social and economic leaders did these churchmen reveal a sense of mission that goes well beyond simple evangelism.

I have sought to pursue three particular lines of inquiry in the dissertation. The first is the placing of the Kansas missionary effort within the structure of the home missionary thrust of 19th century American Protestantism. When the first missionaries were sent to Kansas in 1854 and 1855, they were heirs to over a half century of frontier missionary experience. Patterns of church organization, worship services, and response to the moral challenges of a frontier society had been developed, and the Kansas churchmen drew upon them as models. Equipped with the lessons of earlier experiences, these northern Protestants faced both typical and unusual challenges to their enterprise.

The second particular interest I have pursued is the record of activities and reflections of these churchmen in what might be termed "extra-ecclesiastical" concerns. How did these persons view their societal and political responsibilities? It will be seen that churchmen did many things beyond church-building and providing for their own family needs. The most notable of these activities is the active participation of clergy and laymen in the Free-state movement, the vehicle used by Kansans who wanted to prevent slavery's extension to their territory. But many of these churchmen were also deeply involved in erecting the economic and social structures of their communities; as had many of their fellow Protestants on other frontiers, they engaged in activities ranging from direct personal involvement in land and town ventures to setting the social tone of their communities by participating in cultural, educational and reform organizations. Some might be members of town companies, others might simply be giving moral and theological approbation to the activities of persons they perceived as allies. The study goes into the theological visions and symbols by which many northern Protestants lived and acted, playing a significant part in making the territory what it became.

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The third particular interest which this study pursues is the impact of churchmen's contributions in the political, social and economic areas upon the underclasses of Kansas Territory. These underclasses are black persons, Indians and poor white settlers. If, as I believe, these underclasses were injured in the emergence of the basic structures of the territory, and if northern Protestant churchmen played a significant role in the erection of those structures, then the relationship between churchmen and underclasses is important. How did these northern Protestants view the underclasses if they saw them as significant at all? Do the same theological visions and symbols by which these churchmen understood themselves bear on their behavior with regard to these underclasses? What were the ties of these persons to the racial attitudes, perceptions of Indians and the economic patterns common among their Kansas peers? It is this writer's observation that the category of legitimation best explains the most frequently met "action" of the churchmen toward the underclasses, that is, silence. That injustice could be done virtually without a word of criticism or condemnation points to an important linkage between those who stood for religion in the territory and those who controlled a major portion of the destiny of Kansans. It would be fair to say that northern Protestant churchmen in Kansas Territory were, sometimes willingly, sometimes unknowingly, a significant part of the hegemonic control of the underclasses of the territory. It seems to this writer that an appreciation of how this contribution to control operated in Kansas offers the possibility of employing a radical perspective in American religious history.[2]

The structure of the study is an on-going dialogue between materials from the socio-political history of the territory and materials from the religious and theological actions and visions of selected northern Protestants there. Chapter One presents the context of the "Kansas struggle," and a brief history of the territory especially as it was viewed by the Protestant northerner. I discuss the major missionary efforts in the territory in a general way, touching on the theology most often characteristic of the northern Protestants the study covers, that is, the theology of the evangelical mainstream. The chapter also introduces the concept of "legitimation" as an appropriate interpretative model to describe the role of these Kansas churchmen in territorial society and politics.

Chapter Two presents the northern Protestant missions to Kansas as sharing in most of the characteristics of the nineteenth-century American Protestant missions to evangelise the "West." It argues that the Kansas efforts must be seen against the background of this whole experience to become fully intelligible, especially in terms of the relationship of preaching the gospel and building a civilisation. For most of the northern Protestants surveyed in this study, their mandate to build the church also implied a mandate to build a particular kind of civilisation (for many, explicitly, the New England model). This explains why much of their energy went to reform causes such as temperance, education and, occasionally, even more exotic reforms such as water-cure and vegetarianism.

Chapter Three concerns what was most unusual about the northern Protestant work in Kansas Territory, namely, the clear identification of many of these churchmen with a political party and movement, the Free-state movement. The close ties between these churchmen and the leadership of that movement are surveyed and it is concluded that these northern Protestants played a very significant role in advancing Free-statism's goals.

Chapter Four probes the religious and theological foundations for the activities of northern Protestants in Kansas Territory. It suggests that a cohesive program of action and common hope became possible for an alliance of evangelical and liberal churchmen, despite some genuine theological differences. This is due to the remarkable convergence of theological and socio-political ideas then taking place in almost the whole of northern Protestantism. Having established some of the major components of the northern Protestant worldview, the chapter proceeds to a discussion of the role of legitimation played by those churchmen in Kansas who took an active part in the Free-state movement.

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Chapter Five focuses on the conditions for three underclasses in Kansas Territory, black people, Indians and poorer white settlers. It generally surveys the treatment of these persons by government and private persons and institutions. With respect to these three underclasses, the chapter shows how northern Protestants in Kansas Territory abetted situations of injustice, sometimes by their direct actions, more often by their silence. The chapter also discusses some of the probable reasons for their silence: that the culture from which these churchmen sprung had not itself long seen challenges to prevailing values with respect to these underclasses; that the political struggle for Kansas Territory, coupled with responsibilities to build their own churches, offered a "full agenda" for any person; and that to move against prevalent values in the area of the three underclasses might jeopardize such goals as making Kansas free of slavery and building a stable and moral society.

Chapter Six is one of interpretation and analysis. It applies the theme and analytical idea of legitimation to the northern Protestants presented in the study. The thesis is that one best understands the theological visions, social ideals, social and political roles and associations of these churchmen in the light of their thought and actions seen as legitimating the emerging society in Kansas. A complex of visions, values, and associations with important actors in the Kansas struggle is the context in which these churchmen operated in the territory. Their impact, seen whole, is one of advancing the cause of their particular churches and at

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the same time baptizing the emergent institutions and practices which characterized early Kansas society. The silence of the good, these northern Protestants, became at least an indirect baptism of the emerging social order in Kansas.

The study overall presents a group of Protestant churchmen involved in a particularly difficult and conflict-filled setting, Kansas Territory. It probes their worldviews for points of difference and points of unity, and finds the latter most significant in understanding the high degree of common or complimentary action with respect to Free-statism and the kind of society they wished Kansas to become. The study is the story of a group of politically-active Protestant clerics and laymen who saw themselves as Christian reformers of society as well as denominational advocates. They shared in the victory of the Free-state movement, and also in the erection of churches, schools, and more or less orderly and prosperous towns (in potentia, at least). Yet the victory seems to have been a marred one, both in terms of their own high ideals and in terms of the impact of such victories on the underclasses of Kansas Territory. For these churchmen shared their culture's social blind spots and political myopias. They were men of strong vision and commitment, who were often willing to risk their prestige and even their lives to do what they believed was God's will. Yet they could not see certain things and they chose to neglect others.

Such an assessment has allowed this writer to understand why these churchmen acted as they did, that is, to apprehend what their worldview and operative values were. At the same time, it has allowed me to be critical of their behavior. The sense that these men and women of the previous century make to this twentieth-century person lies in understanding their self-consistency (and even occasional nobility) in light of their worldview. But it also lies in understanding how that same worldview embodied hopes that were not realized at the hands of Kansas' leaders, and how it contained values and lines of perception which could ignore, in all consistency, the needs and desires of Kansas' underclasses. A radical appreciation of these northern Protestants, in both senses of that adjective, understands the depth and power of their vision, and the often tragic effects that can in part be traced to that same vision. A contemporary judgment of the overall effect of the work of these churchmen would be itself limited if it did not take into account the real possibility that similar situations obtain in our own time.

As William Appleman Williams, an historian sensitive to his field's search for a usable past has written:

> The historical experience is not one of staying in the present and looking back. Rather it is one of going back into the past and returning to the present with a wider and more intense consciousness of the restrictions of our former outlook. We return with a broader awareness of the alternatives open to us and armed with a sharper perceptiveness with which to make our choices. In this manner it is possible to loosen the clutch of the dead hand of the past and transform it into a living tool for the present and the future.[3]

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If the reader of this study is open to the prophetic (that is, teaching) dimension of history, the behavior of these northern Protestants in Kansas Territory will be counted at least analogous to the behavior of sincere persons, churchmen and others, in our own time. Instances of moral shortsightedness, choices which more exclude than include underclasses, failed hopes for a more humane society, and the legitimation of social orders which are at best ambiguous in their effects are as ancient as mankind and as contemporary as the stories in the latest newspaper or news broadcast. In acknowledging this, one may respond with the stance of fatalism. Or one might respond with a commitment to overcome at least something of these things in one's self, one's life-style, and the institutions in which one participates. The risk of the second stance is that, ironically, one might find oneself and one's allies involved in rather much the same ambiguities and failures as the Kansas churchmen presented in this study. Yet that risk is more worth taking than the alternative one of standing on the sidelines of history, commenting sadly on the poor quality of the game and its players.

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[1] The decision to focus upon certain northern Protestants in Kansas Territory was in part based upon setting manageable limits to research and analysis; the decision is supported by the evidence of a remarkable unity of vision shared by those northern Protestants who were active in the Free-state movement, a unity discussed throughout this entire study and important to the study's thesis. A complete study of the territory's religious spectrum is not available. A dissertation and a two-part article that begin to view the whole territorial picture are: Don W. Holter, *The Beginnings of Protestantism in the Trans-Missouri*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1934; and, Emery Lindquist, "Religion in Kansas During the Era of the Civil War," *KHQ*, vol. 25, pp. 313-333, 407-437. A bibliography for all Protestant groups in Kansas is: Emery Lindquist, *The Protestant Church in Kansas: An Annotated Bibliography*. University Studies No. 35. University of Wichita, October, 1956. Roman Catholicism became the second largest denomination in Kansas by 1896; cf. *A Kansas Souvenir* (Kansas: Kansas Immigration and Information Association, 1896), p. 57, which lists 72,051 Catholics, compared with 101,600 Methodists and 34,737 Christians (Disciples) as the state's first and third denominations. But Catholicism's start in the territory was relatively small. Two fine books by Peter Beckman, O.S.B., describe the beginnings of the Catholic church there: *The Catholic Church On the Kansas Frontier* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1943), and, *Kansas Monks: A History of St. Benedict's Abbey* (Atchison, Ks.: Abbey Student Press, 1957). The first study has a good bibliography.

[2] See the Appendix to this study which develops a rationale for such a perspective.

[3] William Appleman Williams, *The Contours of American History*. Quadrangle Books (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 19-20.

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CHAPTER ONE

THIS NEW EMPIRE: SETTLERS, CONFLICTS AND MISSIONS

I. Expansion and Conflict in a New Territory

The struggle for control of Kansas Territory was a prelude to civil war. All the cross currents of power and money and culture that had been flowing and clashing throughout the country for decades previous were to meet in some way in the new territory west of the Missouri river. What happened in Kansas was both harbinger and at least one of the proximate causes of the war to come. At the same time, Kansas was the latest in the series of expansions that so colored America's history in the nineteenth century that some later generations would see the "frontier" as experience and as concept to be that history's key. The northern Protestant denominations who sent missionaries and supported congregations in Kansas territory reflected both dimensions, conflict and expansion, in their motives and rationales for undertaking mission work. Neither dimension by itself explains the history of the territory or the ways in which the churches acted there. Rather, they are the twin lenses necessary for a clear focus on the whole field of the territory's settlement. This first chapter will present an overview of both dimensions as perceived by northern Protestant churchmen, discuss the major missionary efforts of the northern denominations there, including the most prevalent theological stance, and introduce the idea of legitimation as an appropriate model for understanding the role undertaken by the churchmen of this study.

A. Kansas As Expansion of White Settlement

Before 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska region was unorganized territory, known generally as "Indian Territory."[1] It was populated, and indeed owned, by several tribes of Indians. The few white men in the area were usually traders or missionaries. The tribes' claims to their lands rested upon treaties with the federal government which had reorganized the lands in the 1820's and 1830's to make room for the tribes it had ordered to emigrate from the south and old Northwest Territory. The tribes had been promised perpetual ownership of these lands, as well as federal protection against all claims and assaults. Typically, these promises were broken when white western expansion sought the fertile and rich lands on the other side of the Missouri River. In 1853, Congress prepared the way for white settlement by authorizing the Indian Office to negotiate "immediately" with certain tribes in Kansas for the cession of all or part of their lands.[2] Throughout 1854 and 1855, (and in some cases, through several more years) negotiations were concluded which enabled white settlers to enter "open" land.[3]

In January of 1854, Stephen Douglas offered the U.S. Senate a bill to organize the Kansas and Nebraska territories, with provision made for eventual statehood for the territories under orderly processes. The bill, in being debated and in May of that year erected into law, occasioned tremendous national controversy. The bill was introduced by Senator Douglas who became a villain and traitor in the eyes of many northerners because of the aid and comfort it supposedly gave pro-slavery groups. Yet as credible a case may be made for Douglas' action in the light of his fiercely democratic constituency in Illinois, as well as in light of his interest in seeing western railroads established.[4]

While Kansas excited controversy and conflict over the implications of the territory's opening on slavery-extension, both large-scale and small-scale economic concerns loomed very large in the motivation for immigration to Kansas and in the interest which many Americans took in the matter. Among the more important things felt to be at stake by wealthier northerners in the new territory was that northern markets continue to dominate southern and western agriculture; northern men of wealth also looked for the continued expansion of an industrial base by persons favorable to their interests.[5] The basic economic pattern of the South was that of an exporting agricultural system, dependent on and often at the mercy of northern and foreign markets. Southern wealth, built on a foundation of land, cotton, and slaves to an overwhelming extent, looked to Kansas and other new territories as an opportunity to uphold slave wealth in the wake of falling cotton prices and depleted one-crop agricultural land. Were the southern system not allowed to expand, it was felt, southern wealth and power would continue to erode.[6] The people of the "West", farmers and smaller merchants, sought new lands like Kansas as a place to establish an economic foundation for themselves and their families. There was, as well, the interest of more than a few in realizing profits from canny speculation in land.[7]

It was worth noting this expansionist motif in the settlement of Kansas in the context of studying northern Protestants there, because one might easily miss its all-pervasiveness in the midst of the rhetoric of moral and regionalistic conflict that marks the literature from and about Kansas at the time. For besides being a field in which some of the great mid-century conflicts met, Kansas was also and probably primarily a new place for people to live, farm, do business, create towns and, it was fervently hoped by many, make money. For example, the New England Emigrant Aid Company, considered one of the northern provocateurs of southern violence, may have described itself in its literature in terms of moral conflict, but its beneficiaries, Kansas settlers, had a different perspective, William Carruth, reconstructing conversations with such immigrants, voiced the common theme:

> We went to Kansas to better our condition, incidentally expecting to make it a free state. We knew we took some risks; but if we had foreseen the struggles and hardships we actually underwent, we never should have gone.[8]

The Kansas missionary effort by northern Protestants and other churchmen seen from the perspective of evangelizing a new territory is, quite simply, foundational. The motivation to serve current church members and make new ones, as well as to have a good moral influence on a newly-developing society on the frontier, underlay anything further in the minds of many churchmen. The home missionary theme in American Protestantism, a half-century old when Kansas opened its borders, echoes throughout the Kansas literature and becomes, by itself and in connection with other motivations, a major explanation of the behavior of churchmen there.

B. Kansas As a Field of Conflict

What distinguishes Kansas Territory from other new territories before it is the degree to which political and regional and moral conflict become part of the self-understanding of many settlers. Churchmen and non-churchmen alike often expressed their stake in the territory in terms that echoed and amplified conflicts that had been occuring throughout the country. Slavery was the chief point of conflict, followed by regional competition and pride. Land policy, the character of the society to be formed in the new territory, the railroads west (and who would control them), all formed part of the total territorial concern and reverberated throughout the states.

Beginning with the introduction of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, repealing the compromise of 1820 to limit slavery, northerners, southerners and westerners began taking sides. The "Nebraska" question filled the northern and southern press. Pulpit orators

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began the first of hundreds of sermons and articles in denominational journals on Kansas. Prominent citizens of all sections allowed their names and money to be used for this or that Kansas cause. Throughout the five years forming the limits of this study, Kansas commanded national attention, and its future became a genuine issue in the 1856 presidential elections. On the Kansas issue Congress witnessed angry speeches and counter-speeches, and even a physical attack on one senator who had delivered a particularly strong address on the side of the anti-slavery forces in the territory. State legislatures, north, south and west, passed resolutions on the issue and sometimes backed their resolutions with money appropriations. Particularly in the north, aid went from cities and villages to Kansans in the form of money, clothing, books and rifles. Newspaper correspondents, professional and amateur, kept the stateside public's interest in Kansas high with many reports, especially during the troubled and violent year of 1856. Diverse interest groups, ranging from moral reformers to manufacturers, felt at least something of their cause was at stake or worth contesting in Kansas. Not only immigrants, but causes and cultures in conflict entered Kansas in its early years.[9]

The issue of whether or not slavery would be permitted within the borders of Kansas appears to be the chief one, though as Paul W. Gates has observed, within the territory this issue frequently obscured the economic motivations of the disputants.[10] Still, the issue was the one most often cited in newspaper reports, manifestos and resolutions, and in the language of political parties.

If one were to outline the years 1854 to 1859 in view of the slavery question, the history of the territory would be summarized as follows. Pro-slavery, anti-slavery and neutral immigrants began settling in Kansas Territory in 1854-1855. In the initial elections, later legally contested by the anti-slavery interests, a pro-slavery majority was elected to the territorial legislature. In league with a succession of territorial governors basically loyal to the national Democratic party, this legislature erected a legal code permitting slavery and severely punishing all anti-slavery activity. In resistance, the Free-state forces banded into a political party and then put into motion a paper government with its own constitution, officers and elections. The repeated threats of violence from the pro-slavery side and the simultaneous military preparations by the Free-state side finally led to the bloody spring and summer of 1856 which earned the territory the name "Bleeding Kansas." The violence subsided in the fall of 1856, erupting sporadically during the next few years, and immigrants, mostly of a free-state mind, continued to enter the territory. In late 1857, the Free-state group finally elected a majority in the territorial legislature. Despite a number of setbacks, this political majority in the population was to express its will in the Wyandotte Constitution which became the instrument of statehood when Kansas was finally admitted to the union in 1861. By 1859, when the constitution was written, the Free-state party had mostly been transformed into the Kansas Republican party which was to dominate Kansas politics throughout the subsequent period. From this vantage point, the anti-slavery forces "won" the Kansas struggle.[11]

It is against the background of Kansas as a field of conflict over the slavery issue that many northern Protestants chose to see themselves. For some, the work of helping make Kansas free of slavery ranked second only to preaching the Gospel. For others, the two tasks were of equal importance. And for still others, by words or at least by the ways in which they spent their energy, the Free Kansas goal was primary. National organizations in the north, such as the American Home Missionary Society, the Methodist Church North and the American Unitarian Association, saw their missionary work as inclusive of the Free Kansas goal with very few reservations.

Viewing the years 1854-1859 in Kansas Territory as a period of political and moral conflict is the second necessary lens through which one understands events there. The struggle for Kansas' future, especially with regard to slavery, is indeed so important and prominent in the Kansas literature that it could well obscure the more mundane goals of those who looked to the new territory as a place to farm, to begin a business, to turn a profit. As many of the persons who are the subject of this study show, the drive to do well and the drive to do right were seen as correlatives among many northern Protestants.

II. The Major Northern Protestant Missions to Kansas Territory

The Kansas missions of northern Protestant churches ought to be viewed as the latest in a long line of "western" missions by

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American churchmen to evangelize the frontier. The patterns of worship, expansion and religious language employed by the Kansas missionaries and their lay constituencies find their roots in over a half-century of missionary experience. While the social and political conflicts in Kansas Territory would modify these patterns, northern Protestants (and their southern counterparts) operated largely on the patterns and customs and wisdom that had been gleaned from years of missionary work on various frontiers.[12]

The American expansion to the frontier presented several challenges to churchmen in the more settled areas of the country. One representative document that embodies these concerns was Lyman Beecher's Plea for the West, published in 1835. In that pamphlet, Beecher summarizes what he felt to be the churches' stake in the West:

> The religious and political destiny of our nation is to be decided in the West. There is the territory, and there will soon be the population, the wealth and the political power . . . It is equally clear, that the conflict which is to decide the destiny of the West, will be a conflict of institutions for the education of her sons, for purposes of superstition or evangelical light; of despotism, or liberty.[13]

Beecher's words are paradigmatic of the American missionary enterprise in the nineteenth century. They presume, in 1835, already over three decades' previous experience from the Kentucky revivals to the great urban awakenings then taking place under men like Charles Finney, and, to a lesser extent, Beecher himself. The words also reflect efforts contemporary to Beecher's own time, when missionary societies, national in character and membership, were busy collecting monies and supplies from established congregations to enable ministers to live and work in the new territories. Finally, they indicate something of the stake churchmen felt in the political and social formation of the new communities in the west: if power shifted westwards, it should not do so to the detriment of Protestant Christian values and the customs of the settled east.[14] An anti-Catholic motive, a strong current in home missionary work, also may be seen in Beecher's plea against "superstition."[15] The northern Protestant missionary effort in Kansas Territory reflected all of these concerns.

A catalogue of home missionary experience grew up in the pages of missionary journals and denominational papers. The Kansas experience was to echo this catalogue in large measure. Among the characteristics Kansas missions shared with their predecessors on earlier frontiers were: a multiplicity of denominations, in usually friendly competition; interdenominational fellowship, sometimes cutting across lines never crossed except on the frontier; the challenge of a frontier population's lack of restraints; rude accomodations and other difficult living conditions; the overwhelming press of secular concerns making regular worship and church activity seem unimportant to many persons; severe poverty among many ministers and lay persons; and the involvement of some ministers in land speculation activities.

The spectrum of northern Protestant theology in Kansas Territory fairly well mirrored that of the country as a whole.

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The churches which had the greatest numbers of clergy and lay members, as well as attendants, were those of the evangelical mainstream. In the categorization of Timothy L. Smith, this mainstream was composed of "revivalistic" Calvinists and "evangelical Arminians."[16] The revival-minded Calvinists were almost Arminian on matters of election and free will, and leaned toward both new measures and interfaith fellowship with like-minded Protestants, whatever their denomination. Included in this group were New School Presbyterians, most Congregationalists, low church Episcopalians, Regular Baptists, Disciples of Christ and New Lutherans not already thorough-going Arminians. The "evangelical Arminians" wholeheartedly held for free grace and man's free acceptance or rejection of salvation; every person, they held, had the God-given ability of responding to the call of the gospel. Included in this group were Methodists of all kinds, German Wesleyans, most Friends, many New Lutherans, Cumberland Presbyterians and Freewill Baptists. Smith maintains that the divisions between these two groups, and between the denominations which made them up, were based more on custom than creed. Both groups emphasized seasons of revival and both had those among them who tended to look for Christian perfectionism for individuals and for the society in which they lived.[17] That this mainstream evangelical type of Protestantism was to predominate in Kansas Territory had some important consequences, not the least of which was the energy level of both evangelism and reform work. Smith maintains that the moral revolution demanded of the elect in evangelical Christianity of this time period was as optimistic a hope as any utopian vogue then current.[18] In Kansas Territory, it will be shown, the most active northern Protestants in politics and reform work were most often to be found in the evangelical mainstream: Methodists, Congregationalists, New School Presbyterians, Friends, low church Episcopalians, and Disciples. These churchmen, in alliance with the handful of their counterparts from the liberal traditions such as Unitarianism and reform-minded Quakerism, played both leadership and support roles in the making of the institutions of territorial Kansas. The engine of the Free-state movement and the emergent Kansas society was, in good measure, fired by northern Protestants of the evangelical mainstream.

The single largest group of northern Protestants active in Kansas Territory was the Methodist Church North. During the charged months of Congressional debate on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, three bishops of the Methodist Church North met in Baltimore with the Rev. William H. Goode, an experienced Western missionary. The three bishops expressed a strong interest in establishing their denomination in Kansas and Nebraska, and commissioned Goode to undertake a tour for them. Goode reconstructed their thoughts in a passage he wrote several years after the meeting:

> A mighty tide of emigration was to roll into this new empire. Thousands of immortal souls would soon be there, all purchased with the blood of Christ . . . The influence of a pure Christianity would be needed to restrain vice, support tempted piety, and prevent fearful apostasies from God. The community was to be leavened, and the institutions of the new and rising territories to be modeled and shaped by Gospel influences.[19]

Goode toured the territory in the summer of 1854. He experienced hospitality and a large measure of fellowship with Baptist and Quaker Indian missionaries already in the territory. As a result of his tour, Goode recommended a church structure for Kansas Territory consisting in one Presiding Elder and two official circuit ministers (Goode himself was appointed Presiding Elder for a time).[20] From this modest beginning, the Methodist Church North grew rapidly. Local churches in the east often supported missionaries to supplement whatever payment ministers received from the national church.[21] But the lay and voluntaristic structures of Methodism seemed to be especially important in accounting for Methodism's growth in Kansas. Throughout the years 1854 to 1859, there occured an increasing number of revivals, camp meetings, as well as quarterly and conference meetings, and the church expanded to become the single largest religious group in Kansas Territory, embracing almost three thousand members, as well as many others who attended Methodist churches.[22]

Second only to the northern Methodists, though nowhere in Kansas close to that church's membership, were the churches sponsored by the American Home Missionary Society. Within the time period of this study, the A.H.M.S. payed the salaries of eleven ministers, although not all of the eleven for the whole period. The ministers included some of the most politically-active of the northern Protestant clergy in the territory, as a later chapter will show. But besides holding strong anti-slavery attitudes, the Congregational and Presbyterian missionaries of the A.H.M.S. were also strong churchmen who expended great energies in forming congregations, preaching in various parts of the territory, and working for moral reforms like temperance and educational institutions. In general, the A.H.M.S. effort in Kansas from 1854 to 1859 exemplifies the efforts of the greatest national Protestant mission organization to evangelize the citizens there in accordance with its particular version of the teachings of the evangelical mainstream.[23] The Presbyterians and Congregationalists aided by the A.H.M.S. were not to enjoy all the success of the northern Methodists; yet their foundation and growth were assured.[24]

In at least two instances, that of the northern Baptists and that of the Quakers, mission stations to the Indians in Kansas in existence before 1854 became bases for white church activity. The Baptist mission, located near Shawnee Mission, was begun by famed Indian missionary, Isaac McCoy; it was a flourishing concern as Indian missions went. But the northern Baptists who came to Kansas after 1854 suffered from a lack of regular sustained missionary activity, from public identification of their denomination with anti-slavery attitudes, and from problems such as were faced by all Kansas missionaries. Their growth was not very great during the territorial period.[25]

Only small groups of the Society of Friends immigrated to Kansas and they formed only three meetings. The Indian mission established in 1837 near present-day Kansas City, served as a center of support for some Friends, but Quaker non-missionary inclinations and less-formalized church polity and worship patterns seemed to

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preclude an increase of new members from among Kansas settlers.[26] From among the Friends came several interesting personalities, however, important to grasping the range of northern Protestantism in the territory. Among these are the politically-active missionary, Richard Mendenhall, a friend of John Brown, and two Quaker reformers, Milton and Sam Hadley.[27]

Perhaps the most militantly "northern" of the churches which supported missionary activity in Kansas Territory was the American Unitarian Association, which had headquarters at Boston. For the first three years of the territory's existence, that group chose to handsomely support a mission in Lawrence which served only fourteen Unitarian members. The primary reason for the mission, as detailed in the following chapters, was anti-slavery work. The Lawrence mission's pastor, Ephraim Nute, was an exceptionally active member of the Free-state movement.[28] A second officially-sanctioned minister, the Rev. Daniel Foster, entered the territory in 1857, but the denomination's chief work was centered in the Unitarian society at Lawrence.

The final major missionary effort was that of the Episcopal Church. Its beginning work with settlers in the territory was through the offices of the Rev. John McNamara, who labored in the pro-slavery area of Leavenworth. McNamara's service was terminated in late 1855 when a combination of ill-health, family tragedy and local sentiment against him forced him to remove from the territory.[29] He was followed by the Rev. Hiram Stone, who settled in Leavenworth, and a few others directly under famed missionary bishop Jackson Kemper. Beginning in 1857, the Philadelphia-based American Missionary Association, low church in theology and anti-slavery by predilection, also sent several missionaries who helped build up the small number of Episcopalians in Kansas Territory.[30]

This completes the broad outlines of the most important northern Protestant mission efforts in Kansas Territory.[31] As the details of the ruling ideas and vision held by these persons unfolds in the following chapter, it will become clear that for most of these, the sense of Christian mission was the root-vision that underlay political attitudes and postures. Thus it became possible for these northerners to legitimate the emerging social, political and economic structures of Kansas Territory. For not only did many of them build their churches and congregations; they also played a very significant role in building the Free-state movement, and blessing the efforts of their Free-state allies to erect the structures by which the territory was controlled.

Students of Protestant history will recognize the inheritance these northern Protestants in Kansas Territory received from the Calvinist current of culture-building. From Geneva to Puritan England to Boston and westwards, went the Reformed vision of a society deeply imbued with Gospel values, a society encouraging saints and restraining sinners. The goodness of freedom and material prosperity became particularly American directions of the current.[32] The churchmen surveyed in this study are, for the most part, spiritual descendants of Calvinism (through its many transfigurations) especially in its social vision. One approach to understanding the operation of this inheritance among northern Protestants in the territory is provided by the idea of legitimation.

III. Northern Protestants in Kansas Territory:
The Concept of Legitimation

From 1854 to 1859, a significant number of Northern Protestants responded to both the expansion and conflict dimensions of the struggle in Kansas Territory. As with the new territories before it, Kansas was seen by these churchmen as a field for specifically evangelical work and civilization-building. But Kansas was a field of intense political and regional conflict, and these same churchmen also became involved in supporting the Free-state movement. To understand the consistency they saw in combining political work with the more readily acceptable works of evangelization and reform, the following chapters will delve into their characteristic theologies, values, and practices. A concept this writer has found helpful in understanding both the ideological and behavioral consistency of these churchmen is that of "legitimation." At this point, I should like to sketch the concept briefly and indicate its relevance to the situation in Kansas Territory.

"Legitimation," broadly speaking, is the process by which something is made to be perceived as good and right. In its use with reference to a society, legitimation would encompass all the ways in which an existing society would be made to appear good and right to its members. As I am using the term, I am borrowing from a social

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model presented by sociologist, Thomas Luckmann, in his work, The Invisible Religion.[33] What becomes of particular interest to this writer is a conclusion drawn from that model, namely, the society-legitimating role played by whatever or whomever impresses the transcendent character of the society's underlying worldview upon the minds of a society's members.

For Luckmann, societies are more than casual groupings of persons organized around merely mundane interests. Rather, a society is a concrete embodiment of a worldview which operates as a "religion," that is, a perspective linking its members to something they perceive as transcendent. A person growing up and living in a given society, says Luckmann, is socialized into a symbolic universe of meaning and significance crucial for the formation of his individual self (especially in the key areas of consciousness and conscience). As a configuration of meaning, the worldview transcends the individual; among other things, this means that the worldview exercises indirect influence on conduct by social controls which reflect the social order and its underlying configuration of meaning. The world experienced by the individual is at once seen subjectively and objectively, as something immanent (it is he who experiences it) and transcendent.[34]

Luckmann proceeds from this basic model of socialization and individuation to draw some conclusions with rather definite social and political implications. He says that a worldview is transcendent for persons within a society, and that the society itself is seen as a manifestation of a universal order, a cosmion reflecting a cosmos. The society and the worldview thus point beyond themselves. The process by which the society and worldview assume this character in the minds of the society's members, "typically serves as a mechanism of great significance in the legitimation of an established social order."[35] I would concur with Luckmann's extension of his basic thesis and suggest, with him, that traditional religious activities both subtly and directly may give great support to the established social order in which they operate. I see this accomplished in three ways.

The first way religious activities would contribute to the legitimation of the social order is that of "borrowed significance." When the church is viewed as God's instrument and its sacred writings held to be divine revelation, anything given explicit or tacit support by it receives by implication a divine blessing (or at least not a divine condemnation).

The second kind of legitimation depends upon the realization that the private reading and interpretation of biblical materials, as well as public ceremonies, sermons and prayers never occur *in vacuo*. Persons participating in the life of a religious group do so in the full context of their individual, social, political and economic lives. Bidden to do so or not, they "read into" and take counsel and guidance from words and actions they consider sacred; having been brought up in a particular social order, it is not at all unusual for them to invest their interests and perceptions of the societal good with a transcendent force.

The third way in which religious groupings help legitimate the social order is related to the first two. Churchmen, lay and clerical face the continuous pressure of their social order's institutions for support. Unless there exists a special reason for a church to stand apart from the mores and interests of the social and political community (as, on occasion, in the case of the Quakers), such support is usually forthcoming, at least tacit if not full-fledged and enthusiastic legitimation. In return, the religious group might often exact some particular favorite cause or reform that is in the community's power to grant; examples of this mutuality may be found in laws regulating liquor, bible reading and prayer in schools, and Sabbath laws.

Applied to the behavior of the northern Protestants treated in this study, the notion of legitimation would indicate that the dynamics of their role in society operated in the following manner. These Protestants would have moved in a symbolic universe transmitted to them as individuals by the processes of socialization operative in nineteenth-century northern society. This symbolic universe granted the status of transcendence to both the over-arching values and visions and the institutions of society as they were or at least could become. These churchmen sought to transmit this symbolic universe to those coming up in Kansas Territory, their children, as well as their fellow-Christians, and the unchurched. On the mundane level, this meant that societal mores and institutions on the northern (especially New England) model and specifically the Free-state movement received their blessing through the means by which the symbolic universe was transmitted. And given what I have stated as the third mode of legitimation, the political-social-economic complex of structures, institutions, visions and behaviors erected by the Free-state movement's members and allies were either to be embraced enthusiastically or at least not challenged. In large measure, it is this dynamic and interaction between the religious symbolic universe of northern Protestants and the emerging society in Kansas which will explain the silence of churchmen in the areas of racism against blacks, anti-Indian attitudes and practices, and the mistreatment of poorer white settlers at the hands of land-capitalists and moneylenders.

Northern Protestants in Kansas Territory inherited a sense of themselves from their eastern childhood and adult experience. They had moved through and within institutions like the family, the religious society or congregations, the local community, the region. Operative rhetoric in their socializing experience would have included such heavily-weighted images as "pilgrim fathers," and the American Revolution, not to mention the image of the "North" or "New England", held up as prototypical for the world. The language relating to their Christian faith would have been more weighted yet, and therefore, its tie with "civilization," and with the surrounding society and culture would be of immense significance. I am suggesting that many northern Protestants came to Kansas Territory with a

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worldview suited to building a society that they hoped would reproduce and extend the one from which they came. In proceeding to speak and behave from that perspective, these churchmen greatly shored up and legitimated the emergent structures and institutions in Kansas in their own minds and those of the supporters of the Free-state movement in the territory and stateside. Despite some occasionally sharp denominational differences, two common strands ran through the self-understanding of these churchmen, a commitment to a particular kind of civilization and a commitment to the Free-state movement, both often spoken of in Christian theological terms. The same persons who worked so hard to build churches, erect schools and colleges and control public behavior in the rowdy towns were often also engaged in vigorous support of the Free-state movement and the tacit or explicit support of behavior and values which were to injure blacks, Indians and white settlers with little money.

A well-ordered, prosperous, temperate and free Kansas was the common hope and goal into which these persons poured so much of their energy. Schools, colleges, representative government, "free" industrial and agricultural economic structures were among the elements which they wished to see flourish on the Kansas frontier. The major symbol and actual vehicle for realizing many of their goals was the Free-state movement, both in its formal organizational structure and its informal role of bringing persons of like mind on the slavery issue together on economic, social and political grounds. The moral weight of these northern Protestants and their denominations was thrown behind a specific political party, as well as behind the more general hopes for a society which reflected a northern model. Through sermons, Sunday school meetings, public speeches and newspaper articles, northern Protestants proclaimed that the Free-state cause, and, by inference, those who guided it, partook of the transcendence of the Christian message itself; the movement was doing God's work, its enemies were doing the work of sin. The burden of this study is that this churchly blessing received by Free-state members substantially contributed to the victory by those forces at the polls, and that the blessing also extended to the activities of the members of that movement or its allies who were to become involved in some serious injustices and ambiguities with regard to Kansas' underclasses. The task of what follows is to explain why this was so and how the dynamics of the situation worked.

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

[1] Cf. Homer E. Socolofsky and Huber Self, Historical Atlas of Kansas (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), especially maps 11-13.

[2] Cf. Paul W. Gates, Fifty Million Acres: Conflicts Over Kansas Land Policy 1854-1890 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954), pp. 15-16. Also, Anna Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Titles," Kansas State Historical Society Transactions, vol. 8, pp. 72-109.

[3] Gates, op. cit., pp. 11-71. Cf. also, William Frank Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), pp. 67-71.

[4] The theme of Douglas as a popular democrat is pursued in: Robert W. Johannsen, "The Kansas-Nebraska Act and Territorial Government in the United States," Territorial Kansas: Studies Commemorating the Centennial (Lawrence et al: University of Kansas Publications, 1954), pp. 17-32. The railroad theme is treated by F.H. Hodder, "The Railroad Background of the Kansas-Nebraska Act," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, vol. 11, pp. 3-22.

[5] Harold Underwood Faulkner, American Economic History (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), pp. 306-325.

[6] Ibid. For a detailed view of Missouri's economic stake in the future of Kansas with regard to slavery, cf., James C. Malin, The Nebraska Question 1852-1854 (Lawrence: private pub., 1953).

[7] On western economic interests, cf. Allan Nevins, Ordeal of the Union, vol. II (New York: Scribners, 1947), especially Chapter Five which argues that there was a growing west-east commercial and trade nexus at this time.

[8] William Carruth, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company As An Investment Society," KSHS Coll., vol. 6, pp. 93-94. Carruth interviewed many of the pioneer settlers who had received aid from the company. The quote is actually his composite from all the conversations.

[9] Recent studies of the Kansas struggle present it as a multi-issued set of conflicts, in contrast to several generations of single-issue, more partisan literature. Allan Nevin's Ordeal of the Union, vol. II, sees the struggle in regionalistic terms, thereby touching ideological, political and economic dimensions of each region's interests felt to be at stake; cf. chapters 4, 5, 9, 12-14 and especially 15, "Contrast of Cultures." Paul W. Gates' Fifty Million Acres argues convincingly that many of the territory's political and social leaders, notably Charles Robinson, Samuel Pomeroy, and B.F. Stringfellow sustained the political conflict only as long as it did not interfere with their private business interests; indeed, sworn enemies of the hot period of the territorial conflict could later join in such things as railroad ventures with no seeming discomfort (pp. 108-109). An impressive synthesis of the issues of conflict may be found in James C. Malin's, The Nebraska Question 1852-1854. One of Malin's more interesting theses (cf. note 4 above) is that far from being a villain, Stephen A. Douglas was a great compromiser in a period of national crisis, and that Douglas stood for local self-determination as a "westerner," rather than as a future presidential candidate looking for southern votes (pp. 15-16). William Frank Zornow's, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State also takes the multi-issue position on the Kansas struggle, citing besides other political and economic factors, the economic dependency of Kansas on Missouri, and the control of territorial government for its desperately needed, income-guaranteed jobs through patronage. Zornow argues that these "survival" issues, along with land and speculative activities were the spur to the vigorous struggle for the territory, far more than the issue of slavery in Kansas (pp. 67-69). Two studies view the Kansas struggle as a multi-issued conflict from the perspective of the race issue: Eugene Berwanger's, The Frontier Against Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and the Slavery Extension Controversy (Urbana et al: University of Illinois Press, 1967), argues that the anti-slavery midwesterners who were the majority in the Free-state movement were against slavery because excluding it was the best chance for also excluding free Negroes from the territory (p. 98). As most of their neighbors, Berwanger contends, these westerners wanted land, success and no Negroes (pp. 98-100). Another reason for their participation in the Free-state movement, he suggests, was that they resented deeply the Shawnee ("Bogus") legislature's determination to allow legislators to choose county officials--a direct violation of the spirit of popular sovereignty, and a sure guarantee that the hated "Slave Code," would be enforced (p. 102). An exceptionally well-argued study of the Kansas struggle as made of many conflicts is James A. Rawley's, Race and Politics: "Bleeding Kansas" and the Coming of the Civil War (Philadelphia and New York: Lippincott, 1969). Rawley would see Free-state and pro-slavery Kansans as primarily involved in land, patronage and political disputes, but alike sharing the conviction that Blacks not enslaved were dangerous to any future state.

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[10] Gates, *Fifty Million Acres*, chapter 1-3.

[11] Cf. the several works referred to in note 9 above, especially the Berwanger and Rawley studies for the ambiguity of this "victory" with respect to black people.

[12] For a bibliography and the best comprehensive study of the home missionary effort in the nineteenth century, cf. Colin B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1939). A measure of the strength of the A.H.M.S. nationally is found in the following statistic from Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in the Mid-Nineteenth Century* (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957), p. 39. Smith notes that by 1950, nine separate Protestant missionary societies were operating in the United States, employing 2,675 home missionaries to establish churches and Sunday schools at a total annual expense of $500,000.00. The A.H.M.S. employed 40% of the total number of missionaries.

[13] Quoted in Goodykoontz, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

[14] Cf. John R. Bodo, *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954); Robert T. Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); and, Timothy L. Smith, *op. cit.* . These three studies present evidence in support of the national Protestant consciousness which underlay the extensive missionary effort.

[15] Cf. Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), especially Chapter 5, "Saving the West From the Pope," and Chapter 11, "Organizing For Victory, 1850-1854."

[16] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[19] Rev. William H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion, with Limnings of Mission Life* (Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock, 1864), p. 240.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 244f.

[21] On the variety of means of supporting Methodist ministers, cf. Don W. Holter, *Fire on the Prairie: Methodism in the History of Kansas* (Kansas: Methodist Publishing House, 1969), pp. 68-76.

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[22] In October, 1856, northern Methodists reported 840 members in Kansas Territory, served by 34 local preachers. By March, 1860, they report almost 3,000 members (2,997 exactly, by the count of the Kansas-Nebraska Conference). Cf. Holter, op. cit., p. 228. As Timothy Smith has noted, it must be kept in mind that there was a real distinction between church membership and church attendance. Membership, Smith reminds contemporary readers, could be a strenuous affair which involved personal conversion and a number of services and classes in a given week. Cf. Smith, op. cit., p. 17. Thus, the northern Methodists, with 840 full members in 1856 out of a territorial population estimated to be between 25,000 and 30,000 [Cf. the statistical tables at the end of this study], were actually doing quite well; between 2.8% and 3.36% of the population were active members (and perhaps as many, if not more, in attendance at Methodist worship or classes). Roughly the same percentage rate (2.8%) was maintained through 1860, with Methodists counting 3,000 members out of a territorial population of 107,206. That such a base was to benefit later Kansas Methodism is reflected in denominational statistics for Kansas in 1896, forty years later. Northern Methodists were still the largest single denomination (101,600), with Roman Catholics the next largest (72,051), and Christians (Disciples) the next largest Protestant denomination (34,737). Cf. Holter, op. cit., p. 145.

[23] Goodykoontz notes that A.H.M.S. ministers tended to far less flexible than their fellow frontier Protestants; they were generally settled rather than itinerant pastors; their attitude towards revivals was more solemn than enthusiastic. Op. cit., p. 182. While Goodykoontz had reference primarily to the 1830's in his observation, many of his points remained true for A.H.M.S. men in Kansas Territory; cf. Chapter Two of this study for some examples, especially Samuel Lum of Lawrence, K.T. The settledness and steadiness of these A.H.M.S. pastors in a frontier setting mostly populated by "westerners" [cf. statistical tables in the appendices] may in part explain why they were outstripped by their Methodist counterparts in Kansas Territory.

[24] As their increasingly divided brethren of the Plan of Union before them had done, Congregationalists and the very small number of Presbyterians in Kansas Territory developed separate church organizations, joining together occasionally for moral reform and political work in the Free-state movement. In April of 1857, the Congregationalists reported 85 members in six societies, with two organized societies not reporting, and three soon-to-be organized societies not counted. Cf. Minutes of the General Association of the Congregational Churches of Kansas, 1855 to 1874. Single bound volume of pamphlets. (Topeka: various publishers, n.d.); Meeting of 1857, p. 10. Two years later, in 1859, the General Association reported

14 ministers, 402 members, 471 Sabbath school attendants, and an average total attendance of 952 at Sunday worship. Cf. ibid., Meeting of 1859, p. 9. The New School Presbyterian presence in territorial Kansas was apparently quite small. The A.H.M.S. supported Presbyterian Paul Shepherd who was in the territory from at least early 1856. Cf. Wilder, Annals, p. 113. The present writer has discovered no other New School Presbyterian missionary besides Shepherd until the arrival of Rev. James Brownlee at Auburn, K.T. in 1858. On May 3, 1859, Brownlee, Shepherd, I.C. Beach and S.B. Morrison [the latter two laymen ?] organized the New School Presbytery as part of the Synod of Missouri. Cf. George W. Nelson, The First 100 years of the United Presbyterian Church in Kansas. Pamphlet (Kansas: Centennial Observance Committee, [1964 ?]), p. 8. No statistics have been found for the territorial years. The relatively late time of its organization and small number of organizing members argues that the presbytery's growth came after the territorial years. The Old School presbytery, in contrast, was a healthy organization, especially in the latter years covered by this study. When the Highland Presbytery was organized in 1857, it reported 5 churches, 4 full ministers and 1 candidate for ordination. By 1859, it reported 12 ministers, 1 licentiate, and several new churches, ". . . with prospects of rapid enlargement, and . . . this presbytery now extends over the entire territory of Kansas . . ." Cf. Presbytery of Highland, Minutes, 1857-1859. Mss. on microfilm, K.S.H.S.

[25] Ten missionaries were sent to Kansas during the territorial years under the auspices of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society. Several left after a short period of service for health or other (unspecified) reasons. Cf. Wauban A.S. Sharp, History of Kansas Baptists (Kansas City, Kansas: Kansas City Seminary Press, 1940), pp. 46-47. In the same volume are details, quite sketchy, of the growth of the eight churches begun before 1860; I would estimate that approximately 150 members comprised the total number of northern Baptists in Kansas Territory between the years 1854 and 1860. Cf. ibid., pp. 80-110.

[26] A reminiscence by a pioneer Friend presenting an overall view of the foundation of his denomination in Kansas Territory is: William H. Coffin, "Settlement of Friends in Kansas," KSHS Coll., vol. 7, pp. 322-361. Coffin's reminiscence names families and their places of settlement, noting that the largest Quaker settlement in the years 1854 to 1859 was located in the Fall and Stranger Creek area, several miles west of Leavenworth. From his details, I would estimate that perhaps 115 Friends, men, women and children lived there by late 1859; probably as many as 50 Friends lived in two other settlements, one near Emporia, and another immediately south of Osawatomie, making an approximate total of 165 Friends. One statistic that Coffin provides is mentioned in connection with a

memorial sent by the Fall-Stranger Creek group to two Indiana meetings, requesting authorization for a "preparative meeting." Coffin recalls that about 50 members signed the memorial. Cf. ibid., p. 351.

[27] These Friends are discussed in subsequent chapters.

[28] Two contemporary studies by Charles R. Denton recount the story of Unitarian work in territorial Kansas: American Unitarians, 1830-1865: A Study of Religious Opinion on War, Slavery and the Union. Doctoral dissertation, Department of History, Michigan State University, 1969; and, "The Unitarian Church and 'Kansas Territory,' 1854-1861." KHQ, vol. 30, pp. 307-338, 455-491.

[29] McNamara told his story in: Three Years on the Kansas Border, By A Clergyman of the Episcopal Church (New York and Auburn: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1856).

[30] A recent study of the Episcopal church in Kansas devotes its first three chapters to the beginnings of that denomination in the territory: Blanche Mercer Taylor, Plenteous Harvest: The Episcopal Church in Kansas, 1837-1972 (Topeka: Episcopal Diocese of Kansas, 1973), pp. 11-69. Two accounts of the moves and counter-moves between high and low churchmen concerned with Kansas are: ibid., pp. 33-46; and, William Henry Haupt, "History of the American Church, Known in Law as the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the State of Kansas," KSHS Coll., vol. 16, pp. 353-402. It has been difficult ascertaining statistics for Episcopalians. From Taylor, I count eleven Episcopal clergymen in the territory at various times. One was an Army chaplain present before 1854; three were commissioned by famed missionary bishop, Jackson Kemper; and seven were sent by the anti-slavery, low church Episcopal Missionary Association For the West, the "Philadelphia Association." Seven churches were at a sufficient stage of organization to participate in a first diocesan convention in August of 1860. Two pieces of information give additional indication of the denomination's strength. Rev. Hiram Stone increased his Leavenworth congregation from an 1856 beginning of 3 communicants to 40 communicants by 1859; cf. his, "Memoirs of a Pioneer Missionary and Chaplain in the United States Army," KSHS Coll., vol. 13, p. 324. An 1864 report notes that at least four of the pioneer clergy were able to build stone churches, a sign of some congregational stability. Cf. Wilder, Annals, p. 135, quoting an N.O. Preston. A generous estimate of the number of active Episcopalian communicants in the territory between 1854 and 1859 would be 150.

[31] Three other Protestant groups, either from the northern or western states, provide some measure of comparison with the missionary

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efforts mentioned above. All three are evangelical mainstream. The Lutheran presence in Kansas Territory was extremely small in comparison to other groups. The first Lutheran there was Rev. Josiah B. McAfee, who first settled in Leavenworth in April, 1855. He began a church of thirteen members, but during the hostilities of 1856, lost his building and moved away from the pro-slavery center to Valley Falls. Between 1857 and 1859, he formed four congregations which he administered in circuit-fashion until the agreement of a colleague in 1860 to share the pastoral load. I would estimate from sketchy details the number of church members for the Lutherans between 1854 and 1859 to be no more than 50. Cf. H.A. Ott, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Kansas (Topeka, Ks.: F.M. Steves and Sons, 1907), pp. 11-19. McAfee is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three. The Church of the Brethren, most of whose members came from Indiana to Kansas, by 1860 claimed only three congregations. There were approximately 30 members and 60 men, women and children associated with the church. Cf. Elmer Leroy Craik, A History of the Church of the Brethren in Kansas (Macpherson, Ks.: The Author, 1922), pp. 13-16. In contrast to the above two groups, the United Brethren in Christ was a most successful enterprise. Between 1854 and 1859, at least a dozen ministers labored on preaching circuits. In 1857, they reported 196 members, up 95 from the previous year; in 1858, they reported 314 members, up 192; and in 1859, they reported 516 members, up 202 from the previous year. At one 1858 camp meeting, 96 members were added to the church. Cf. Bernard L. Cook, The First Twenty-Five Years of the Kansas Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ. B.D. Thesis. The Bonebrake Theological Seminary, 1942. Part One of: Cook, Branson, and Lehman, Seedtime and Harvest: A History of the Kansas Conference of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ (private printing: n.d.), pp. 3-9.

[32] An excellent discussion of the historical fortunes of the culture-building feature of Calvinism may be found in: H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Meridian Books, 1960), especially Chapter Five, "The Churches of the Middle Class," pp. 77-105. Niebuhr discusses the decline of the Calvinist vision from its vigorous days to the days when it became the self-justifying faith of the bourgeoisie. While Niebuhr finds himself in general agreement with the Weber thesis, he argues that cogent, if not satisfactory theological roots to the vision explain much of its tenacity and long history.

[33] Thomas Luckmann, The Invisible Religion: The Problem of Religion in Modern Society (New York: Macmillan, 1967).

[34] Ibid., p. 52.

[35] Ibid. The phrase "cosmion reflecting a cosmos", is Eric Voegelin's. Luckmann uses it to indicate the perception of a social order as paradigmatic of a transcendent order of values.

CHAPTER TWO

LEAVENING A TERRITORY: MISSIONARIES, REFORMERS AND "CIVILIZATION"

The vision of Kansas Territory as yet another frontier area needing the saving and civilizing hand of northern Protestantism was fundamental to most of the churchmen surveyed in this study. That vision connected the missionary enterprises in Kansas to at least the previous half-century of domestic mission work. The vision also underlay the behavior of missionaries and lay churchmen aimed at making the new territory a particular kind of society. When one understands the depth of the vision, variously perceived but remarkably constant in many particulars, it becomes clear that any search for the roots of the political and social activities of northern Protestants in Kansas Territory must begin with the missionary vision. This chapter will present several northern Protestants of various churches; discuss some of the varieties of typical "church" work; examine some of the reform and civilization-building activities that were undertaken and seen as logically demanded by the commitment to extend Christianity, and discuss the idea of "civilization" as voiced by northern Protestants in Kansas. I believe it is only by understanding northern Protestants' rootedness in the missionary vision and what they saw to be that vision's social imperatives that one can view their political behavior in Kansas as consistent and understandable.

I. Early Leaveners

The northern Protestant ministers sent to Kansas Territory were frequently different in background, education and approach to their mission. Some were highly-educated men, most were not. Some were veteran missionaries or pastors, while still others were young and inexperienced. Looking at several different clergymen, their particular visions and their behavior as missionaries, one sees the range of talents and capabilities among Kansas' northern Protestant missionaries. Such a sampling also allows one to begin to appreciate the challenges to religious work on the Kansas frontier.

As the first chapter indicated, the Methodist Church North was destined to become the largest of the northern Protestant churches in the territory.[1] The career of its first organizer, William H. Goode, demonstrates that the church's beginning in Kansas reflected both the heritage of frontier experience that was Methodism's and some of the conditions peculiar to Kansas.

Even while travelling to Kansas for the first time, Goode recalled in a memoir published several years afterwards, he organized for the needs of his church there. Passing through Illinois on his way to the territory, Goode met a Methodist layman, "Uncle Billy" Moore, also immigrating to the territory; Goode commissioned Moore to head any class (a small religious group) he could collect in Kansas.[2] During his initial survey of the lands of Kansas, Goode underwent many hardships. On nights when he could not find a neighboring Indian mission such as the Baptist or Friends' establishments, he slept out of doors. On one occasion, Goode had to swim his pony through the broad Kaw (Kansas) River. As a result of the difficulties encountered on his summer's tour through the territory, Goode became ill with fever and "paroxysms."[3] Nonetheless, after a brief rest in his home state, Indiana, Goode returned to become Presiding Elder of the Kansas and Nebraska Mission District, initially staffed with seven ministers besides Goode.[4] By October, 1856, the two districts of Kansas could claim a total membership of eight hundred and forty, with thirty-four accredited local preachers.[5] Much of this growth must be credited to Goode who for two years had been riding circuit throughout Kansas, organizing quarterly meetings, preaching and generally overseeing the work of the Methodist Church North, in retaining and increasing members from among the new settlers. Goode paid particular attention to persons who had been Methodists in their home regions, as he described in the following account of a typical pastoral stop:

> Our practice was to converse as far as practicable with all, seek out Church members, encourage them, and, where practicable, form them into classes, leaving appointments for regular preaching. Often we had affecting scenes, when first meeting with those who had long been shut out from the privileges of the Gospel.[6]

Through the flexible and powerful customs of frontier Methodism, such as the preaching appointment, local class (which could meet without a minister), quarterly meetings and revivals, Goode and his fellow ministers were able to increase Methodism's ranks at a remarkable rate. As this organizational work continued in the first two years, Goode reported, there were a growing number of threats by pro-slavery persons against the church which was seen as an anti-slavery organization. Goode said that no camp-meetings were held near the Missouri border during the first year of the Kansas conference, "lest thereby we should afford the enemy too good an opportunity to muster his forces."[7]

A final aspect of Goode's ministry in Kansas Territory is worth noting. Upon his return to Kansas in the fall of 1854, Goode had been instructed by his bishop not to "get into the 'claim' business," that is, not to involve himself in staking out a claim for purchase or later re-sale. Apparently his church had previous experience with ministers attempting to profit personally from land ventures. Instead, Goode lived in a house already erected on the Wyandotte Indian reservation, a practice, as will be later noted, not continued by some of Goode's fellow Methodist ministers.[8]

The first missionary of the American Home Missionary Society (hereafter referred to as A.H.M.S.) was Congregationalist Samuel Y. Lum. Lum became an important figure in Kansas Territory, in terms of both church and secular affairs, and especially in political matters. A dedicated evangelist and fervent anti-slavery man, Lum left in his letters and speeches some of the clearest examples of the ways in which

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some northern Protestants operated comfortably in both ecclesiastical and secular circles. Yet for all of Lum's ease in worldly affairs, his public and private words reveal a person whose own vision was very deeply rooted in the northern Protestant theology, spirituality and sense of mission.

Lum was a graduate of Oberlin College and Union Seminary. He had three years of experience as a Congregationalist pastor in Middletown, New York, before volunteering for work in Kansas. He was thirty-three years old at the time of his arrival at "Wakarusa" (the original name of what became soon the city of Lawrence), in September of 1854. Lum had chosen to travel with the second company sent to Kansas by the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society.[9] Upon his arrival in the new city, Lum was invited to become a member of the Lawrence Association, the city company, a corporation which controlled the allotment of land and city-shares.[10] His connection with the Emigrant Aid group and the Lawrence Association put Lum in daily contact with those persons who would become part of the leadership core of the Free-state movement and party, the political apparatus of the anti-slave state forces in Kansas. Lum became one of that movement's strongest clerical supporters.

But Lum's pastoral work was his major involvement, and he was a capable western missionary. Lum organized his church, the Plymouth Congregational Church, less than a month after his arrival.[11] Despite the fact the church meeting-place was a long shack made of hay, it still bore the New England name and Lum proceeded to develop a full round of activities, including a Bible class of twenty-five persons, a Sunday school, and weekly "social prayer meetings."[12] In his letters to Milton Badger and others of the American Home Missionary Society, Lum frequently commented on the moral and religious climate.

Among Lum's pastoral concerns was the erection of a church building. The building represented more than a place of worship for Lum. He felt that his type of non-"enthusiast", orthodox Christianity was threatened by the excesses of Methodism and the radicalism of the Unitarians. In one letter he recommended that any easterner interested in the Kansas cause send money for a church edifice; he suggested that there would be no better way of assisting Kansas, with the exception of sending more "faithful heralds of the Cross."[13] In another letter to his eastern supporters, Lum asked for their prayers and for more ministers. For him, Kansas ought not only be freed of "the curse of slavery," but also "rescued from the curse of sin."[14] Lum took Sabbath-breaking and lack of attendance at church services as signs that many Kansans, understandably caught up in economic and political crises, were exhibiting a "fatal carelessness."[15]

Lum left the territory in 1857 to take up a headquarters position with the A.H.M.S. in New York. Before leaving Kansas, his last letter to New York repeated his observations that many who came to Kansas from the east fell into error and digressions from their evangelical faith. His final thought to the sending society was: "God grant that many [clerical] laborers may speedily enter this great garden of the West . . ."[16]

The Unitarians presented quite a different picture than their more numerous Methodist and A.H.M.S. counterparts, and yet are still

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quite significant among churches in Kansas. The American Unitarian Association chose to support one mission for the first three years of Kansas' existence, despite the fact that Unitarianism was not a missionary-minded movement and there were never more than a handful of Unitarians who became members of the one society in Lawrence. As one commentator notes: "the denomination sustained a society whose chief purpose was to help stem the expansion of slavery."[17] The agent of this purpose was Ephraim B. Nute, Unitarian Missionary. Yet Nute's political activities, important as they were to him and his denomination, did not overshadow his preaching and more church-related ministry. But for the lack of evangelical vocabulary, the following sermon-summary written by an auditor of Nute's might have come from the most theocratic of missionaries interested in the church as a leavener of the frontier:

> The novel circumstances under which we met were touched upon; our leaving the old homes among the eastern hills to find a new one in the "waiting West," and the hope which actuates one and all of seeing the same institutions flourish here, which make life desirable there. The protecting care and guidance of the same kind Parent are still over and around us. He provides for us this beautiful temple, [the sermon is being preached outdoors on a hill] "not made with hands," in which to worship him; and if from our work here he calls us home, he offers heaven with its "eternal mansions."[18]

Nute's reports to the American Unitarian Association were similar to the letters of his fellow missionaries. In the first several months, he reported, he ate a great deal of bread as meat was scarce. Frequent and heavy rains forced the cancellation of many church services. For that reason, Nute wanted a church building, and that, "right early."[19] In response, the A.U.A. began a subscription drive among its eastern societies, "in the interests of Christianity and civilization in Kansas," to pay for Nute's church. By the end of the year 1855, the drive had prospered and $3,500 was sent to Lawrence. The church building had been under construction from October of that year. Construction was halted in late November and December because of the "Wakarusa war," when it was used as a fort.[20]

Aside from political crises, Nute's ministry in Lawrence was a happy one. His chief complaints were a lack of money (a familiar refrain of western missionaries), and the fact that his books and papers suffered water-damage in the rains. But he genuinely liked his ministry; in 1855 he wrote:

> I have enjoyed the work both of preaching and pastoral labor as I never did before . . . so much so, that it has seemed to come from a source entirely above myself, and I have taken it as a seal of divine favor on my work.[21]

Despite the fact that Nute suffered imprisonment for several months during the violent year of 1856, he remained in Kansas throughout the territorial period, continuing his pastoral work as well as his efforts in various reform causes.

An example of a smaller missionary society in Kansas is that of the northern Baptists. The American Baptist Home Missionary Society sent the Rev. James Gilpatrick to Kansas in the fall of 1854. He was 54 years old at the time of his appointment, yet in his first thirteen weeks on the job, he toured the territory giving 27 "discourses" and travelling 754 miles, "a large part of it on foot."[22] Gilpatrick's letters to his missionary society sound some familiar themes of

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frontier missionaries, particularly the pleas for money and colleagues: "The Methodist preachers," he says, "are all over the Territory, and now is the time if we as Baptists would secure anything."[23] Gilpatrick's regular preaching circuit consisted of five preaching stations strung out over 200 miles of Kansas Territory.[24]

Gilpatrick was joined by a handful of colleagues in the years 1855-56. Baptist prospects did not seem great during these two eventful years of the territory's history. Gilpatrick described the unsuccessful bid of a colleague identified only as a "Rev. Hall" to establish a church at Lawrence:

> He has been prevented by circumstances beyond his control. We have much with which to contend. [The political trouble of the territory] has produced a vast deal of unwholesome excitement. And then, the people are necessarily so much driven with their secular concerns that it operates against the interests of religion; but we must do what we can.[25]

During the severe winter of 1855-56, Gilpatrick was seriously ill and was unable to preach for several weeks. When he resumed his labors, he could only preach sitting in a chair. The winter also brought the death of his wife of thirty years.[26] His illness returned in the spring when he was once again unable to preach or ride to appointments.[27] Gilpatrick's letters continue throughout the stormy year of 1856. One of the recurring refrains is money, a particularly difficult problem because of the uncertainty of mails during the months of the intense struggle between free-state and slave-state forces. Despite setbacks, Gilpatrick's last letter notes that he was going to

Council City to help establish a new Baptist congregation in that new town.[28]

A final example of a mission worker along the usual frontier lines is the Rev. Pardee Butler, a famous Disciples minister. Butler may be seen as typical of many part-time missionaries who came to Kansas both to preach and secure a living. Some of these men would eventually receive denominational or missionary society support; others would not. In Butler's case, his political activities on behalf of the Kansas Free-state cause may actually be said to have precipitated a schism within the national Disciples' ranks.

Butler was born in western New York, and raised in the Western Reserve area of Ohio.[29] At the age of nineteen, he was baptized into the Christian (Disciples) church. He immediately resolved to become a preacher. Unable to afford higher education, Butler began to preach two years later. Throughout his career, he alternated preaching and secular work. After moving first to Iowa, and then to Illinois, he entered Kansas in 1855. He entered Kansas, he said, because the new territory offered "a fair prospect of gaining . . . a position of pecuniary independence."[30] During his first year in Kansas, Butler began preaching in the territory and helped to organize a church near Atchison. But his new situation did not mean peace for Butler. Twice in the next two years, he faced the wrath of Atchison mobs for his Free-state views. He became a nationally known figure because of the two incidents.[31] After the very trying years of 1855-56, Butler settled into a routine of farming and preaching. He organized a church at Pardee, a small town near his farm. In 1858, Butler and representatives from three Disciples congregations met to formally organize missionary work for their denomination in Kansas. Butler was selected as the first "state evangelist," a position he filled on a part-time basis. He reported that seven new churches were formed by his efforts by the end of 1858.[32] The following year, Butler asked for funds from the American Christian Missionary Society, his denomination's national supporting body for ministers. The refusal of the corresponding secretary of that society to give funds to Butler because of the latter's anti-slavery views helped set in motion a national schism within Disciples' ranks. Butler, during these years, was to rely entirely on funds raised within the territory for support of his part-time organizing efforts.

The sketches of the several ministers above point to the important contextual fact that undergirding whatever special or unique forms of action or service taken by northern Christian churches in Kansas territory was the half-century of frontier evangelization experience that preceded it. For some ministers, this meant having the supportive framework of custom and other mission experiences to draw on. For some, too, it meant that the machinery of monetary support could be counted upon to free them of financial concern, relatively speaking. For Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists, churches in the home regions could be counted upon for prayer, monies and other needs, and, less tangibly, but still real, the approval of friends to help them face the oftentimes difficult

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conditions in the new territory. For others, like Pardee Butler, the road was more difficult, but this did not deter Christian effort to preach, to organize churches. Despite divergent views, a common and familiar theme of frontier evangelism, the church as "civilizing" force, was held by most northern ministers. For some of them, this meant standard evanglizing practices, like organizing churches, or circuits, or establishing Sabbath schools and other ancillary institutions. For a good many of these men, church service included efforts at civic and other kinds of reform. For a handful, more exotic reform efforts seemed appropriate. A review of the whole spectrum of the work of churchmen follows.

II. The Missionary and Reform Work of Northern Protestants

A. Unsettled Conditions

Kansas Territory shared the characteristic unsettled conditions of all frontier settlements, especially with regard to financial problems and an unstable population. Additionally, the violence and upheaval of what came to be known as "Bleeding Kansas" made the territory a difficult place, at times, in which to live and work. From the missionaries' points of view, Kansas as a mission ground, was particularly a hardship post. For northern Protestant ministers, the church faced not only the usual resistance of some to the evangelical invitation, but the whole range of economic, social and political challenges to church stability and growth.

Unlike many of the churchmen who were to assume leading roles in territorial society, most of the immigrants to Kansas were "westerners" of the Ohio River valley and the upper south.[33] Some ministers found the character of the bulk of this group wanting from their point of view. Samuel Lum had this estimate of the population of Lawrence in December of 1854: "The large majority of all who come to the Territory, so far as I have the means of judging, are actuated solely by selfish or mercenary motives."[34]

Besides people understandably concerned with land and making sufficient money to succeed or at least survive in Kansas Territory, churchmen faced the problem of an unstable population which made congregation-building a difficult proposition. One interpreter of religion in Kansas Territory quotes from an article written by A.H.M.S. Kansas Missionary, Lewis Bodwell, in 1860:

> On this western field, the gospel meets some peculiar obstacles incident to the state of society. Of these hindrances, few are more discouraging than the unsettled character of our population. The western phrase, "I do not live, but only stay," is of almost universal application. The word "home" might be entirely stricken from our vocabulary . . . It is quite probable that one-half of the present population of Kansas will spend their days here--while, at the same time, there are very few here who have positively made up their minds to make this their home. It is all an experiment.[36]

It is probably not too much to say that the major cause of this unsettledness among the population of Kansas Territory was the uncertainty of financial gain. James Malin has observed that Kansas probably did not escape a deficit economy until the late 1870's.[37] All monies were brought in by settlers, speculators and the federal government, and distribution was uneven. The high cost of basic supplies typical of a newly settled area far from established markets, the land policies, climate and the disruptions of 1855-1856 combined to make Kansas Territory something more than a high-risk situation for most persons. Clergymen and their families sometimes felt this keenly. While A.H.M.S. missionaries received their regular salaries of six hundred dollars annually, ministers of other groups fared hardly as well.[38]

A final condition in Kansas Territory that certainly had impact on the missionary work of northern Protestants was the violence of the Kansas political struggle and its aftermath of continuing excitement. While the involvement of churchmen in the political struggle will be described in detail in the following chapter, it seems helpful to realize that this struggle was a constant factor that had impact even on the strictly ecclesiastical work of ministers. Two observers, James Gilpatrick the Baptist missionary, and Julia Lovejoy, wife of a Methodist missionary, in their letters frequently mention the disruption and uncertainty that was experienced by their fellow churchmen during the troubled territorial years. In August of 1856, during the worst of the violence of that year, Gilpatrick wrote the following to his sending society:

> The hindrances to missionary effort still continue and are great. Bands of marauders of the vilest character, on the gorilla [sic] system are, and have been scouring the Territory, robbing, stealing, insulting, burning, and often murdering in the most horrid manner "free state" people.
> This, as you may suppose, produces great excitement. Indeed, our people have been called from home to defend their neighbors, and when at home deem it necessary to be armed, and ready at every moment for an attack by day and by night, and on the Sabbath; yes, and they bring their firearms with them to the church.[39]

Julia Lovejoy frequently wrote long letters back to church and secular papers in the states, and especially during the years of most intense struggle described the disruptive impact of the political and social upheavals in the territory. In one letter written in 1856 to a New Hampshire paper, she declared that she actually welcomed the illness which made her and her husband convalescent during the worst of the troubles; staying at home made them safer from the bands of men she imagined would murder them if they were abroad.[40] Later in the fall of the same year she reported the interruption of Sunday worship when a rumor was spread that three thousand "ruffians" were on the march to Lawrence--the rumor was true and the city saved from fresh attack only by the intervention of the territorial governor.[41]

If 1855 and 1856 were years of threatened and real violence, the three years that followed were ones of continuing excitement that did not increase the social calm many churchmen felt was necessary for full church success. Even when the more disruptive elements of the

Kansas struggle became less and less felt, the on-going problems of land, supplies, money and the shifting population rendered the spiritual lives of many Kansans relatively closed to the appeals of ministers. Like other frontier settings, Kansas faced social problems of no mean proportions. The major response to these problems and to the imperatives of the missionary vision by northern Protestants was two-fold: they made available a variety of church services and engaged in the works of reform. To those dimensions of their work we now turn.

B. Church Services

As might be expected, church services in Kansas Territory reflected the patterns brought there from the east and adjusted to the conditions imposed by the frontier setting. Services were held out of doors when weather permitted, in barns or barn-like buildings, in settler's cabins, saloons and, after a time, finally in buildings set aside specifically for church purposes. William Goode's claim to have preached the first Protestant sermon to white men may be questioned, but its cabin setting was certainly to become typical for many ministers in the territory, especially those who rode circuits.[42] Samuel Lum's first months of services were in the "hay tent" of Lawrence, a building used as a boarding house at other times.[43] Logs and rocks formed the seats for the congregation at Ephraim Nute's first service held outdoors on a Lawrence hillside.[44] A.H.M.S. missionary, Richard Knight, held his 1855 services regularly in what he described as, "a beautiful grove," in Hampden.[45] While still in this rustic place of worship, Knight's congregation managed to also hold a regular Sabbath school which Knight reported was "doing much for the scriptural enlightenment of our young men especially."[46] Still another outdoor preacher was Episcopalian John McNamara, although his hope was for a combination school and chapel log cabin as soon as his parishioners could erect a building for him.[47]

When services were held in buildings, the "church" was often a borrowed cabin or public building of one kind or another. Mrs. Charles Robinson reported that Mr. Lum's services in the spring of 1855 were held in a building made of local cottonwood. Such a structure, she observed, was soon full of large cracks because the sun-curled wood simply would not stay in place. Yet, in this same building, on a rough box, was laid each Sunday the Morocco-covered Bible sent as a gift from the east. The crude benches didn't disturb the worshippers, says Mrs. Robinson, because the familiar hymns of their childhood were sung, the minister's sermon was the same as they had remembered from former homes, and so they felt that "New England was in [their] midst."[48]

Methodists shared the Sunday scripture service and Sabbath school activities with other Protestants in Kansas, but in addition had the revival-like quarterly meeting. As things began to quiet down politically in the territory, they made more frequent use of revivals. Mrs. Charles Lovejoy described one quarterly meeting and several revivals in her letters. Of one quarterly meeting, she wrote:

> The preaching, singing and shouting was as if the citadel must surrender or be taken by storm, which was done effectually, and we alternately laughed and wept . . . and the grand old woods rung, as they had not to celestial notes, since [creation] . . . It would do your city preachers good, cooped up as they are, from Sabbath to Sabbath, between dingy walls of brick, to snuff the exhilarating prairie breeze, and attend one of those soul-enlivening meetings that are considered such a "great occasion" by our Western brethren.[49]

In January of 1858, Mrs. Lovejoy wrote to a Methodist paper in Boston that she had heard of the great religious revival then sweeping eastern urban areas, and wished to describe a great revival then taking place on the Kansas frontier:

> . . . it would do your soul good to see the people flocking in every direction to the place of worship, and the almost breathless attention that pervades the multitudes as they listen to the story of the cross. God is in the place, in very deed.[50]

In a later letter, Mrs. Lovejoy reported that the revival continued unabated. In one meeting, a young man jumped over seats and benches from the back of the tent to get to the altar. The same meeting, she said, was filled with a sort of "quiet frenzy," with hand-shaking, prostrate bodies and great shouting, "whist we Yankees could only weep and adore the great mercy of Christ risen and exalted."[51]

A church service probably in this era unique to Kansas Territory deserves mention. In the summer of 1856, many Free-state supporters were in a prison camp at Lecompton. One summer Sunday, Ephraim Nute, the Unitarian minister who was soon to be arrested himself, led a group of Lawrence citizens out to the prison camp to conduct Sunday

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service with the prisoners. Officers and soldiers guarding the prisoners were in attendance along with the visitors and the prisoners themselves. Mrs. Robinson noted that a melodeon provided music for the hymns and that pond lilies decorated the table.[52] It was surely one of the more unusual services taking place across the country that Sunday.

C. Reform as Christian Work

Northern Protestants in Kansas had their share, and perhaps more, of the reform spirit that was current in so much of mid-century American Protestantism. For many Christians, evangelical and liberal alike, reform concerns were a logical and even necessary outgrowth of one's religious commitment. Reform meant many different things. It is fair, I believe, to say that the basic reform issue in Kansas was whether or not the state that would emerge from the territory would be slave or free. The next chapter will consider this issue in some detail. Other reform issues ranged from such widely-supported ideas as temperance and education to the more radical ideas of abolitionism, communal enterprises, and even a few instances of interest in alchemy, water-cure and vegetarianism. As reformism was an integral part of American religion during this era, one would expect its presence in Kansas. Let us briefly examine some of the reform currents among Kansas Christians from the North.

According to one contemporary observer, Kansas Territory was rife with reformers. Thomas Conway, of Pennsylvania, had come to the territory in 1857 for the land sales. According to him, Kansas' reformers were many and these were of the extreme type. While the sharp polemical tone of his description suggests that he was more a hostile satirist than an accurate observer, nonetheless his words do offer testimony that Kansas, like the rest of the nation, witnessed the presence of reformers attempting to change society. Conway said this in a letter to his family:

> I do not look for any troubles here this season however much a certain clan of "Reformers" are striving to foment it. I say Reformers for although they are not known here by that appellation, they still are the same stripe mentally and constitutionally that push on all the reforms in the Eastern and Middle States. They settle at their meetings all constitutional questions; all moral questions; questions of Theology; questions of Human rights, Negro Rights--the petticoat question, Spiritualism, Free Loveism, and occasionally dissolve the union. Such are the men that are shrieking for Negro Freedom in Kansas, and this question once settled which of the isms above mentioned will Receive their particular attention Heaven only knows.[53]

Conway's suggestion that the territory had many reformers so extreme, by the standards of the day, as to espouse civil rights for free blacks must be discounted; for few Kansans, even those most sympathetic to Black rights, ever spoke publically in favor of such a reform.[54] But reforms of a less traumatic nature did indeed occupy the attention and command the energies of many northern Protestants.

Reform concern sprung from various visions among Kansas Protestants. Probably the most prevalent matrix was the linking of Christian mission and "civilization" which had as its hoped-for issue

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towns and cities that would embody the characteristics of eastern settlements.[55] This type of outlook seems to have been especially prevalent among the northern clergy in Kansas. For example, the Rev. Charles Blood wrote to his A.H.M.S. superiors in September of 1857 on why religion was not prospering in the territory. As causes he mentioned the pioneers' concern for survival in a new land, the strong concern, even anxiety in the face of imminent land-sales in which a settlers' whole labor could be lost if claim-money could not be presented, and finally the "unsettled condition of political affairs."[56] Blood continues his catalogue:

> All these things have operated unfavorably to the moral and religious interests of the people. Intemperance, profanity, sabbath-breaking have prevailed to an alarming extent. Still, these things are incident to every new country. We hope that soon we shall see an improvement in this respect.[57]

Assessments like Blood's may be found in almost all missionaries' letters from Kansas.

That many different ministers could and did unite on a broad reform basis is evidenced in a clerical convention held in Lawrence in February of 1856. Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational and Unitarian ministers, thirteen in all, met to address those issues they saw as most critical for the territory's future. Besides making a very strong anti-slavery statement, the ministers proposed action in the areas of temperance, clerical alliance, Sabbath-keeping, and Sabbath schools in connection with Bible distribution to families.[58]

Along with anti-slavery work, the greatest reform energies of northern Protestants were spent on work for temperance. Meetings, societies, tract-distribution and local laws became the most-favored methods of temperance-minded clergy and laity. With many other Americans of their era, Protestant Christians in Kansas believed intemperance to be the major scourge of society.[59] The Rev. S.D. Storrs, an A.H.M.S. missionary in Quindaro, Kansas Territory, wrote in an 1858 letter: "Rum is slaying a hundred at least, where the Border Ruffians killed one."[60] Various causes were cited to explain intemperance in Kansas, including the familiar missionary observation that frontier situations lacked the in-built restraints of more settled areas. Samuel Lum made similar observations, but also mentioned the Kansas wars as contributing to the prevalence of drinking; he writes in December of 1855 that where formerly Lawrence had few liquor sellers, their number increased and a majority of the city's young men patronized them as a refuge from the military drills that had been so frequent in previous months.[61] Isaac Goodnow, lay Methodist educator from Rhode Island, notes in his diary that a fellow citizen of Manhattan had died of the effects of drinking, "enticed by _rum shops_!"[62] Intemperance was felt to be a serious problem for which steps had to be taken by Christian citizens.

Actions against intemperance varied. At the 1856 clerical convention already mentioned, the subcommittee on temperance immediately mounted a large temperance meeting in Lawrence with several of the ministers delivering talks against drinking.[63] On an individual basis, Baptist James Gilpatrick gave temperance talks and distributed tracts on the subject as he toured the territory.[64] Isaac Goodnow managed to convince his fellow trustees of the Town Association that any citizen of Manhattan who sold liquor on their property would forfeit their lots to the Association.[65] In that same city in 1857, a group of ladies took the law into their own hands and smashed a "liquor den" with axes and hammers.[66] In at least two cities, Manhattan and Sumner, chapters of a temperance lodge, the "Good Templars," were formed.[67] Finally, in an article sympathetic to Kansas Indians, the editor of the Lawrence Herald of Freedom noted that there was a Sons of Temperance group among the Wyandot Indians.[68] As did so many of their fellow Americans and fellow Protestants, territorial Kansas' northern Protestants saw temperance as a major reform goal and spent a good portion of their energies to achieve a temperate Kansas.

Next to temperance, probably the most important reform concern was education. The Protestant hope for a literate laity and an educated ministry and lay-leadership had strong roots in New England and other parts of the north.[69] The hope had been realized on previous frontiers, and Kansas' northern Protestants carried the hope there. The two cities which were most influenced by northern Protestants, Lawrence and Manhattan, both had New England-like "athenaeums," which offered a varied fare of lectures, debates, book reviews and similar activities for adults.[70] Both cities also were the first in Kansas to form colleges. Isaac Goodnow became agent for the Methodist school,

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"Bluemont College," a project endorsed in 1856 by the premier Kansas-Nebraska Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[71] In his capacity as college agent, Goodnow travelled extensively in the midwest and east and raised money for the institution.[72] In Lawrence, Ephraim Nute was involved in helping to start what eventually became the state university. Money was first given by a Massachusetts industrialist, Amos Lawrence, to establish the school which was first known as "The Lawrence University."[73] The college was actually organized under Presbyterian auspices.[74] The Lawrence Congregationalists proposed "Monument College," to commemorate the triumph of liberty over slavery in Kansas, but their enterprise collapsed due to the civil war.[75]

Concern for the education of the young was also demonstrated by northern Protestants in Kansas Territory. A young Unitarian minister from Massachusetts, Daniel Foster, functioned as both minister and schoolmaster in Sumner.[76] A Methodist minister, James Shaw, in 1857 accepted an offer by the organizers of Geary City to settle in their new town, erect a school house, teach their children and function as a preacher.[77] Lutheran J.B. McAfee also combined the role of minister and schoolmaster.[78] Ephraim Nute of Lawrence allowed the basement of his Unitarian church to function as a preparatory school.[79]

These reform issues, temperance and education, attracted general public support. But there were also some reformers in the territory more sweeping in their vision; perhaps these were the type

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that attracted the scorn of Thomas Conway. Some of these men, like Isaac Goodnow and George W. Brown, were laborers within the existing order, hoping for a series of specific reforms in a wide number of areas. But there were also some more radical reformers.

Isaac Goodnow was a preparatory school teacher in Rhode Island. During the first few months of 1855, he travelled extensively in New England speaking to audiences about the Kansas question.[80] He arrived in the territory in March of 1855, and was to remain in Manhattan throughout most of the period treated in this study. He began as a farmer in the settlement, gradually becoming active in the promotion of reform measures in the areas of temperance and education. Goodnow was also engaged in Free-state politics, Methodist church activities on both the local and conference levels, Manhattan real estate sales, and the collection of meteorological data which he sent to the Smithsonian in Washington.[81] He was a regular reader of several Methodist periodicals, as well as periodicals covering the subjects of logic, chemistry, physiology and "pronunciation science."[82] After Goodnow settled in Kansas, Hitchcock's Religion of Geology and Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire were among his readings.[83] Surrounded by political strain and the difficulties of pioneer living, Goodnow seems to have maintained an inner life of intellectual and spiritual cultivation together with a very active life of community service and religious practice.

Another practical reformer was a Unitarian layman, George W. Brown, editor of the influential Free-state paper, the Herald of Freedom.

This newspaper was supported by numerous subscriptions and contributions from the northern and western states, and its views exerted remarkable influence in a very short time. Brown's major reform interest was the defeat of pro-slavery forces in Kansas Territory. A young clergyman friend in Pennsylvania, Brown's home state, gave him a verse he liked so much that he published it in one of his first issues. Its romantic reform vista suited the young editor well. It went, in part:

> Go thou to western wilds, and from that land,
> Where nature's gifts are strewn with liberal hand,
> Beat back oppression's tide. Let Freedom's song,
> Reverberate from hill to hill, and long,
> On wings of light let "Freedom's Herald" fly.
> Where souls are bound—and be its battle cry,
> "No more of SLAVERY beneath the sky."[84]

Although he wanted to prevent the pro-slavery faction from gaining control over the new territory, Brown was no abolitionist. As an enlightened editor, he published abolitionist writings, but personally he favored gradual emancipation of enslaved blacks. He held up the apprentice system of Pennsylvania and other northern states as a model for orderly assimilation of blacks into American economic and social institutions. Anything less than assimilation, he held, would be destructive—any abolition should be accompanied by education for citizenship.[85] Brown was also interested in the Indians of Kansas and did not like to see the members of Kansas tribes deprived of their civil rights. Finally, one other concern, on the fringe of the range of reform interests, "water-cure," engaged Brown. He commented with great favor on Lawrence's most active exponent of that health-system, the Rev. E.D. Ladd, a Swedenborgian minister. Together, the two men formed a Water-Cure Society in Lawrence.[86] But Brown's reformism generally expressed itself in political and editorial activity on behalf of the Free-state movement and party, which will be considered in the next chapter.

Radical reformism of the "ultra" variety was rare in Kansas Territory.[87] Purity of heart and ideology might better be practiced in a more settled environment less likely to explode than that frontier territory. Still, there were some persons of the type Thomas Conway characterized so bitterly in another letter.[88] Among them, and perhaps exemplary of the type, were two young Quakers from Indiana, Sam and Milton Hadley. They arrived in Kansas in 1855 and immediately began their farming operations on leased land at the Friends' Indian Mission. The brothers wrote letters to a friend, George Allen, in Indiana. The letters were filled with romantic and enthusiastic reform sentiments for the Kansas cause, water-cure, vegetarianism and temperance. Sam Hadley wrote to Allen in March of 1855:

> George I implore thee in the name of humanity to Come to Kansas and do all thee can to bring others with thee, for the country is most beautiful and lacks only the Artificial part to be an Earthly Paradise. But self-ease should not be the in[m?]prompter in bringing the true-hearted immigrant hither; a nobler ambition, that of saving Kansas from the curse of slavery, in no way could a person do more good to the Union, perform a greater service to his God, and to posterity . . .[89]

In the same letter, Hadley had a strange resolve for a non-sacramentarian Quaker:

> The Missourians are bitterly opposed [to]
> all abolition emigrants in so much that
> they threaten them with dunking or even
> worse than that if they block the
> slavery question but I fear them not for
> as I told a proslavery fellow whom I made
> mad in talking of slavery if they
> baptize me or kill me I could not be
> baptised or die in a better cause . . .[90]

Milton Hadley, who assumed the burden of the correspondence with Allen, was verbally even more caught up in the reform spirit. His letters usually began with salutations like, "Esteemed Friend and fellow in the field of Reform," and, "Esteemed Friend and Fellow Laborer in the ever-widening field of Reformation."[91] Milton continued to exhort Allen to come to Kansas, and proposed that they go together to the vegetarian colony then being formed in the territory.[92] In one of his letters, Milton delivered a ringing exhortation from one reformer to another:

> Cast--hurl with uncompromising vengeance
> every breath of the infernal fumes of
> prejudice to the 4 winds of the wide-wide
> world that scattered in the abysmal womb
> of uncreated night--every subject--religious &
> moral as well as scientifical and physical
> shall meet with the same investigation
> and scrutiny. Let us still labor for the
> Right for it is Might. Hold fast to our
> faith whatsoever it be striving to exalt
> the standard of truth.[93]

In subsequent letters, Milton mentioned other subjects he is interested in, including water-cure, phrenology and alchemy. His last letters to Allen, in 1856, reflected a change in Hadley on such matters as his Quaker religious faith, phrenology and vegetarianism.[94] Hadley's earnestness and seemingly uncompromising reformism offer an interesting illustration that Kansas reflected the stateside situation as much in its extremes as in its more typical persons.

To sum up, reform was a part of northern Protestantism in Kansas Territory. Like their brethren in the home states, Kansans found themselves exhorted to temperance, educational improvement, and at least occasionally, to more exotic behaviors like the practice of water-cure or phrenology. Men of wide learning like Isaac Goodnow, or men of wide moral concern like George Brown, formed a portion of the Christian presence in Kansas Territory. Given the stateside situation, this reform presence was to be expected. It becomes significant when many others will, with the reformers, embrace the goal of no slavery in Kansas, whether in the name of Christianity or the Free-state party, or, as so often happened, both.

III. The Vision: Religion as "Civiliser" and Links with the Powerful

Throughout the preceding pages, an underlying vision and practice has been alluded to. In terms of both, the Kansas churchmen drew on past missionary experience. The vision was of religion as a civilizing force, and it expressed itself practically in the close association between many religious leaders and the leadership of emergent social, political and economic institutions. Let us briefly examine some of the expressions of the vision and some of the actual associations. Deliberately excluded from this examination is the legitimation and blessing given by churchmen to the Free-state movement; and, also not

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considered are the actions or omissions of churchmen in the three areas of blacks, Indians and poorer white settlers. These subjects will be taken up in detail in subsequent chapters. The point of this section is to outline the general framework of values and practice which underlay what made the Kansas situation different from other frontier missions: the degree of support and assistance given the Free-state movement and leadership by many of the territory's northern Protestants. American churchmen before and after this supported and legitimated political movements and parties. I believe the Kansas territorial situation to be different from similar instances to the extent that a theologically-based vision of civilization became so explicitly linked to the fortunes of a political movement. An overview of this vision as held by northern Protestants concerned with the future of Kansas Territory indicates the contours of its hopes and some of its deeper theological roots.

The vision of religion as a civilising force which was held by Kansas' northern Protestants can be traced back, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, to the social vision and culture-molding ideas of what is loosely called "Calvinism." H. Richard Niebuhr traces the history of this vision and these ideas especially in his *Social Sources of Denominationalism* and *The Kingdom of God in America*.[95] For Niebuhr, the key idea in the theology of the Reformed tradition was that of the sovereignty of God. He notes that in the American development of Reformed theology, the idea went through three phases:

> In the early period of American life, when foundations were laid on which we have all had to build, "kingdom of God" meant "sovereignty of God"; in the creative period of awakening and revival it meant "reign of Christ"; and only in the most recent period had it come to mean "kingdom on earth."[96]

The time period in which the events of the Kansas struggle took place, Niebuhr observes, was the second phase of the change of emphasis in the doctrine of the sovereignty of God, namely, the period in which the "reign of Christ" became the theological keynote. During this phase, encompassing much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the kingdom of Christ was believed best extended through revival and the fruits of revival. The fruits, besides new Christians and new congregations, included colleges and secondary schools, Sunday schools, asylums for the unfortunate, and humanitarian reforms of many kinds, including the struggle against slavery.[97]

But something was happening to the idea of the reign of Christ immediately preceding the Civil War. The idea was beginning to be transformed into an expectation of the coming Kingdom on earth.[98] It was this transformation that later allowed the flowering of the Social Gospel which proclaimed the most earthly version of the millennial expectations held by so many nineteenth century American Protestants. Much as New York City's Social Gospellers were to put their evangelical fervor to work in the Henry George campaign for mayor in 1886, so did many of Kansas' northern Protestants thirty years earlier enthusiastically speak, write, and otherwise work for the Free-state movement in Kansas Territory. The transitional idea between the more spiritual conception of the "Reign of Christ" and a mundane political conception may be the vision of "civilization." The evidence of such a shift happening in Kansas Territory is the ease and frequency with which northern Protestants there spoke of civilization and a free Kansas with little or no pause for breath in between the two ideas. An examination of the idea of "civilization," however, is necessary if what I maintain is its partial concretization in the Free-state movement is to be understood in its theological context.

One of the most influential institutions in northern Protestantism at this time, the American Home Missionary Association, spoke in 1856 about its work in Kansas in a way that well sums up the widely held view that evangelical religion built civilization along with congregations. After reviewing the seemingly slight success of its Kansas missionaries, the A.H.M.S. Executive Committee said:

> We gain, however, but a very partial view of the results of this Society's labors, unless we pursue them *into every department and over every field of social, intellectual, and moral, as well as religious enterprise.* We must trace them in those noble systems of of education for which many of our younger states are honorably distinguished, and in the seminaries of learning, of every class from the primary to the collegiate school. *We must look for them in all benevolent, humane, and reformatory institutions. We must detect them in all those social and public movements by which good morals are secured, wholesome sentiments diffused, and all the higher interests of society conserved.* Nay, we must follow these streams just now bursting from their fountainhead, as they flow in a thousand channels, and in ever-increasing volume, through all future time. [ital. mine][99]

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Most Protestants in Kansas who came from the North, including liberal Unitarians, would agree with the committee's hopes, though assuredly from different bases and with distinguishable visions as to what Kansas might finally look like in terms of the success of their own denomination or theological slant.[100]

One of the more popular expressions of this vision was John Greenleaf Whittier's, "Kansas Emigrant's Song," which was actually sung by northern settlers on their way to the territory and within it.[101] Two of its stanzas pertain to the vision of the church as civilization's best builder;

> We're flowing from our native hills,
>   As our free rivers flow;
> The blessing of our motherland
>   Is on us as we go.
>
> We go to plant her common schools
>   On distant prairies swells,
> And give the Sabbaths of the wild
>   The music of her bells.[102]

Such an identification of order and civilization frequently is expressed in terms exclusively of northern, even New England institutions. It will also be recalled that Unitarian, Mrs. Robinson, felt that her first church service in Lawrence evoked so much of home, that not just God, but "New England was in our midst."[103] An 1857 meeting of Kansas Congregationalist ministers reminded colleagues of eastern conferences in a similar vein: " . . . it shall be our aim . . . to transplant the principles and institutions of the Puritans to these fertile plains."[104] A New Haven settler and organizer of a settler's group from New Haven, Charles B. Lines, commented on what he deplored as a lack of Sabbath observance: "There are many good people in Kansas, and whenever the Govt. becomes settled we shall no doubt see and feel their influences in establishing those institutions we so highly praise in our New England homes."[105]

Not just regionalism, but occasional denominational pride was attached to this vision. John McNamara, early Episcopalian missionary, had this lyric observation: "The sight of an Episcopal clergyman is regarded by [settlers] as a harbinger of the advance of civilization, as decided as the flight of the birds to the northward, is an indication of the return of spring."[106] Samuel Lum, a partisan for evangelical Congregationalism, painted a bleak picture of the probable future of the territory were his type of religion not given vigorous support:

> [Circumstances engender a] recklessness, & freedom from restraint, that too often, prove fatal to the principles, as well as the practices of a home society, and it is not too much to say [that Kansas has the materials for the best or worst society]. There are surely enough influences at work, unless counteracted by the Infinite One, through the efforts of His church to overthrow any society.[107]

As might be expected, northern Protestants who shared the vision of religion as a civilizing force would generally be in close contact with social, political and other leaders; what is more, these leaders, most of them lay members of one or other denomination, would welcome such associations and support church leaders in building civilization. Bostonian Thomas H. Webb, secretary of the Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Company, wrote to one of his local agents in Kansas, Samuel Pomeroy, in October of 1854. His message illustrated that he, too, shared the vision of church and "civilization" working hand-in-hand:

> My idea has always been that it was not well to concentrate our people in one locality. It is desirable that New England principles and New England influences should pervade the whole Territory . . . Dot Kansas with New England settlements, and no matter how heterogeneous the great living mass which flows into the Territory may be, it will all eventually be molded into a symmetrical form, and the benefits resulting therefrom will be such that generations yet to come will bless the memory of those thro' whose efforts the boon of freedom, knowledge, and pure & undefiled religion were secured for them and their posterity.[108]

A synthesis such as Webb's was common to national and Kansas Protestantism. With a supreme confidence in the leavening power of New England's peoples and institutions, including the churches, Webb predicted a society to come that would mirror all that he, in Massachusetts, held dear and important. Religion fits into this vision as a part. A similar synthesis may be found in the following resolution made by Charles Robinson, another of the emigrant aid group's agents, at a Lawrence Unitarian meeting:

> Regarding moral and religious teaching as essential to good order and prosperity in a community, as well as promotive of personal piety, and having the fullest confidence in the Rev. Ephraim Nute, jr., as a citizen, minister and christian, he having proved himself in every way worthy of his high calling, commanding the approbation and respect of the whole people, we hereby pledge to him our zealous cooperation in establishing and supporting the religious society under his charge . . .[109]

George W. Brown's paper, which recorded Robinson's resolution, also offered, in the same issue, an editorial comment on the building drives then underway in several parts of the territory. He says:

> We observe with very great pleasure that measures are being taken in the East to procure funds for the erection of churches under the auspices of the Congregationalists in Lawrence [and several other cities]. Large sums have already been donated for this purpose, a lady in Boston giving $500. Churches, school houses and sawmills are the great civilisers of the age; but the latter must be the pioneer, while the former should come immediately after.[110]

The confidence that Webb, Robinson and Brown could have in the cooperation of religion and society was echoed by clerical and lay churchmen. Samuel Lum wrote this to the American Home Missionary Society:

> Your Soc. in company with kindred societies, has done much to secure this result [a free Kansas]. The temporal as well as the spiritual interests of the people are advanced most under an efficient ministry. Those towns give most evidence of permanent prosperity, where the earnest faithful preacher was on the ground at the very beginning . . . [111]

As strong as Lum's statement is, it is by no means uncommon in its spirit. The prevailing thought seemed to be that prosperity, order and good morals were the product of a regular ministry and rapid growth of church institutions, perhaps best represented (symbolically at least) by the erection of permanent church buildings. All this is coincident with the general or specific reform concerns of these Northern Protestants.

One final example of the vision of religion as civilization-builder very sweeping in its scope, is worth noting. Charles Lines, the New Haven colony leader, wrote an extended letter to a newspaper

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in his hometown. In the letter, he commented on the breakdown of morals on the frontier. He lamented the lack of such eastern Sabbath sights as people in their "neat Sabbath attire," going to Sabbath school and service. He continued:

> . . . the genial influence of a New England Sabbath is wanting,—and until a church is erected, schools established, and the services of a stated pastor enjoyed, we shall see but little reverence for God's word, or for His holy day. Neither shall we experience the many creature comforts that are found only in Christian communities and under the influence of Christian institutions.[112]

Lines went on to note that even such things as personal cleanliness, taken for granted in the east, is less in Kansas, due, he felt, to the lack of Christian presence there. A few days later, he wrote another letter linking his view of agricultural possibilities in the territory to what he sees as the benefits of Christian institutions:

> We are everyday more impressed with the great agricultural resources of this country, and when it becomes subdued and under genial cultivation, and the arts and privileges of a Christian civilisation are established here, we can see no reason why it may not be a delightsome land, filled with abundance and variety for the sustenance and happiness of man.[113]

When Northern Protestants in Kansas Territory are seen in the light of their vision of the role the church had in making society stable and prosperous, the truth of Luckmann's insight described in the preceding chapter is at least partially confirmed. Religious worldviews operate, to a very large extent, as legitimations of existing social orders, or, as in this case, as legitimation of an intended social order. In the following chapters, examples will be given to show how this vision expressed itself politically in the Kansas struggle, which introduces some models and situations new to the American religious-social experience. When so many northern Protestants in Kansas become key supporters or even organizers for the Free-state movement and political party, it seems to this writer that the prevailing vision of church and society common to so many northern Protestants takes on a new dimension. But, as this chapter has shown, the foundation for this direction may be seen in the experiences of frontier mission predecessors, and the hopes for a "civilization" which would reflect and support the kind of religion held dear by northern Protestants.

Were there no missionary societies, no backlog of patterns in worship, evangelization and frontier ministry, no reform experience and vision of the church as "civilizer" on which to draw, Kansas churchmen from the north could not have moved so comfortably and confidently as they did in a very unsettled situation. A history, several complimentary if different religious visions, and a sure sense of what had to be done to "save" Kansas in a theological sense all lay behind the social and political postures of these churchmen. Even antagonism one might expect, as between Congregationalist Samuel Lum and Unitarian Ephraim Nute were to give way to the struggle to control Kansas' future for the anti-slavery forces from the north.

NOTES

[1] For statistics I have relied on Holter, Fire on the Prairie. Cf. p. 228 which reports an 1856 membership of 840, and an 1860 membership of 2,997.

[2] Goode, Outposts of Zion, p. 244. Goode also noted that Moore was captured in 1856 by pro-slavery guerillas and subjected to humiliations such as having whiskey forced down his throat. Moore's son, he also reported (faverably), rode with John Brown's company during the same year. Of Moore himself and his impact on Kansas Methodism, Goode judged that he was, "always a good influence for morals, religion and propriety." Ibid., p. 244.

[3] Ibid., p. 258.

[4] Ibid., p. 277. Cf. also Holter, Fire on the Prairie, p. 69.

[5] Holter, Fire on the Prairie, p. 70.

[6] Goode, Outposts of Zion, p. 329.

[7] Ibid., p. 355.

[8] Ibid., p. 290. By way of contrast to Goode's diffidence with regard to frontier capitalism, note the financial dealings of his fellow Methodist missionary, Rev. Charles Lovejoy, recounted in Chapter Five of this study.

[9] The society and its successor, the New England Emigrant Aid Company, were to play a large role in the Kansas struggle, chiefly through propaganda and agents who became important leaders, such as Charles Robinson and Samuel C. Pomeroy. Cf. Chapter Three for further information on the company.

[10] Emory Lindquist, ed. "Letters of S.Y. Lum," KHQ, vol. 25, p. 39.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., pp. 51-52. These last were spontaneous prayer sessions in which members addressed God in petition for personal, social and even political needs.

[13] Ibid., pp. 61-62.

[14] Ibid., p. 179.

[15] *Ibid*., p. 178.

[16] *Ibid*., p. 196.

[17] Charles Richard Denton, *American Unitarians, 1830 - 1865*, previously cited, p. 109.

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[18] Sara T.L. Robinson, *Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life, Including a Full View of Its Settlement, Political History, Social Life, Climate, Soil, Productions, Scenery, etc.,* Eighth edition (Boston: Crosby, Nichols and Company. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. London: Samson, Low, Son & Co., 1857), pp. 59-60.

[19] Charles R. Denton, "The Unitarian Church and 'Kansas Territory', 1854-1861," previously cited, pp. 326-327.

[20] The "Wakarusa War," was really a scare rather than an actual armed conflict. Over two thousand Missourians and pro-slavery Kansans massed around the city but were deterred by the territorial governor's intervention. On the construction and use of the Unitarian building's foundations as a fort, cf. Denton, *art*. *cit*., p. 328.

[21] Denton, *art*. *cit*., p. 328.

[22] Letter to B.M. Hill of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society, January 11, 1855. See: *Gilpatrick Papers*, Kansas State Historical Society, mss. division. These letters are in the form of typed copies and the original manuscripts. Each of the letters is addressed to Hill.

[23] *Ibid*., letter of January 18, 1855.

[24] *Ibid*., letter of March 31, 1855.

[25] *Ibid*., letter of May 1, 1855.

[26] *Ibid*., letter of February 2, 1856.

[27] *Ibid*., letters of April 2, and May 2, 1856.

[28] *Ibid*., letter of December 31, 1856.

[29] Biographical information taken from: David Edwin Harrell, Jr., "Pardee Butler: Kansas Crusader," *KHQ*, vol. 34, pp. 386-408.

[30] *Ibid*., p. 387. From: Pardee Butler, *Personal Recollections* (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1889), pp. 36-37.

[31] Cf. Chapter Three for more details on Butler.

[32] Harrell, *art*. *cit*., p. 393.

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[33] Cf. *Territorial Kansas: Essays Commemorating the Centennial* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1954), essays by James Malin and Robert W. Johannsen for information on the predominantly "western" character of the Kansas immigrants.

[34] "Letters of S.Y. Lum," *KHQ*, vol. 25, p. 45.

[35] *Gilpatrick Papers*, letter of May 1, 1855.

[36] Lindquist, *art. cit.*, p. 5. Quoting from the *Congregational Home Record*, April, 1860, p. 23. Cf. also *AHMS Papers*, letter of Rev. O.L. Woodford of Grasshopper Falls, November 16, 1857. Woodford reported that the greatest number of claimants at the federal land sale were young men without families. Most disappeared after selling the land they had just purchased, with only some few returning stateside to bring out their families to settle.

[37] James C. Malin, "Notes on the Writing of General Histories of Kansas," *KHQ*, vol. 21, p. 338.

[38] James Gilpatrick's letters frequently spoke of the grave financial needs of Kansas settlers, noting especially that during the months of violence in 1856, mail from the east was very uncertain: *Gilpatrick Papers*, letters of October 30, 1854; March 31, 1855; December 14, 1855; March 8, April 2, May 2, 1856. Julia Lovejoy's letters also mentioned financial destitution regularly; cf. "Letters of J.L. Lovejoy," *KHQ*, vol. 15, p. 294. Pardee Butler's situation of having to exercise a ministry only part time has already been alluded to earlier in this chapter.

[39] *Gilpatrick Papers*, letter of January 11, 1856. See also T.H. Gladstone, *The Englishman in Kansas, or Squatter Life and Border Warfare* (New York: Miller, 1857). Reprinted as a Bison Book (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1971). The reprint's contemporary Foreward (pp. vi-xx) by James Rawley notes that contemporary scholars rate Gladstone's book as the most objective to emerge from the Kansas struggle. It is significant that the English reporter described incident after incident of violence, property destruction and intimidation of Free-state people by pro-slavery people especially during the spring and summer of 1856.

[40] "Letters of Julia Louise Lovejoy," *KHQ*, vol. 15, p.130. The letter was addressed to the Concord (New Hampshire) *Independent Democrat*.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 133. Cf. also Wilder's *Annals*, p. 138.

[42] Goode, *Outposts of Zion*, pp. 254-255.

[43] "Letters of Samuel Young Lum," *KHQ*, vol. 25, p. 39.

[44] Sara T.L. Robinson, *Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life*, pp. 59-60.

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[45] American Home Missionary Society Letters: Kansas. Microfilm copy, KSHS Microfilm Collection. Original letters in the possession of the Divinity School Library, University of Chicago, Letter of Richard Knight, May 8, 1855.

[46] Ibid.

[47] McNamara, Three Years on the Kansas Border, pp. 194-197.

[48] Robinson, Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life, p. 41-42.

[49] "Letters of Julia Louise Lovejoy," KHQ, vol. 15, pp. 312-313.

[50] Ibid., p. 317. Cf. Timothy Smith, op. cit., pp. 63-79, deals with the great urban revivals of 1858.

[51] Ibid., p. 396. Letter of September 10, 1858. Holter, Fire on the Prairie, pp. 68-75, provides more information on Methodist worship in Kansas Territory.

[52] Robinson, op. cit., pp. 321-322.

[53] "Letters of Thomas Conway from the Kansas Territory in 1857 to Mrs. Conway, Meadow Lawn, Burlington, N.J." (private printing, n.d.) Photographic reproduction of original mss. Copy in K.S.H.S., manuscript division.

[54] Cf. Chapter Five for a discussion on northern Protestant attitudes toward black people.

[55] Emory Lindquist, "Religion in Kansas During the Era of the Civil War," previously cited, p. 320.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Herald of Freedom, Lawrence, K.T. February 23, 1856, p. 2. See also Emory Lindquist, art. cit., p. 321, in which an 1861 Sabbath Law campaign in Leavenworth is described. Most of the Protestant ministers in the city participated, and the campaign even enlisted the public support of Roman Catholic bishop Jean-Baptiste Miege.

[59] On the temperance issue as a major concern of northern Protestants, cf. Bodo, The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848, especially pp. 176-181. Bodo argues that the men he calls "theocrats" eschewed social reforms for moral reforms, especially in crusades against intemperance.

[60] A.H.M.S. Papers, Letter of S.D. Storrs, July 9, 1858.

[61] "Letters of S.Y. Lum," *KHQ*, vol. 25, p. 65. Letter of Dec. 1855.

[62] Isaac Goodnow. *Diary*. Typed transcript and original mss. in possession of KSHS, mss. division. Entry of February 15, 1857.

[63] *Herald of Freedom*, March 1, 1856, p. 2.

[64] *Gilpatrick Papers*, original mss., in possession of KSHS, mss. division. Letter of January 11, 1856.

[65] Diary of Isaac Goodnow, entry of March 11, 1856.

[66] *KSHS Coll.*, vol. 7, pp. 405-406.

[67] Diary of Isaac Goodnow, entry of May 17, 1858. Also, "Letters of J.L. Lovejoy," *KHQ*, vol. 15, p. 41. Letter of January 1, 1859.

[68] *Herald of Freedom*, January 6, 1855, p. 2.

[69] On the nineteenth-century Protestant interest in higher education, cf. William Warren Sweet, *Religion in The Development of American Culture, 1765-1840* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952), especially pp. 163-172. On the Protestant stake in public education, see Robert Handy, *op. cit.*, p. 38: "In the field of public education the Protestant concern for the advancing of morality and civilization demonstrated itself clearly. A literate populace was [essential] so that all could read the scriptures and be informed about the advances of civilization."

[70] Diary of Isaac Goodnow, entry of February 25, 1857. Also, Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[71] Daniel W. Wilder, *The Annals of Kansas, New Edition, 1541-1885* (Topeka: T. Dwight Thacher, Kansas Publishing House, 1886), p. 135. Also, Diary of Isaac Goodnew, entries of April 8, 1857. When opened in 1858, the institution was renamed Baker University; the college is still in existence.

[72] Diary of Isaac Goodnow, entry of November 21, 1857.

[73] F.H. Snow, "The Beginnings of the University of Kansas," *KSHS Coll.*, vol. 6, p. 70.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

[76] "Letters of J.L. Lovejoy," *KHQ*, vol. 16, p. 57.

[77] Rev. James Shaw, *Early Reminiscences of Pioneer Life in Kansas* ([Kansas?]: Haskell Printing Co., 1886), p. 39. In their 1857 meeting,

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the General Association of Congregationalists reported that in Lawrence their denomination had established a free high school and free common schools. They reported that Manhattan, K.T., Congregationalists were making arrangements for free schools, also, Cf. *Minutes of the General Association*, previously cited. Meeting of 1857, p. 13. Congregationalists at Ogden, K.T., were reported to have obtained a charter for a "female seminary." *Ibid*.

[78] See Ott, *op*. *cit*., p. 11.

[79] Snow, *art*. *cit*., p. 70.

[80] Diary of Isaac Goodnow, entries for January through March, 1855.

[81] *Ibid*., 1855-1858.

[82] *Ibid*., entry of February 14, 1856.

[83] *Ibid*., entries of February 26, 1857; December, 1858.

[84] *Herald of Freedom*, October 21, 1854, p. 3.

[85] *Ibid*., May 12, 1855, p. 2.

[86] *Ibid*., March 12, 1855, p. 2.

[87] A discussion of one region's experience of the "ultra" strain in American reformism may be found in: Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850*. Harper Torchbooks. The Academy Library (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 173-208, and *passim*. Another discussion of thorough-going reformism, stressing its connection with theological perfectionism, is: John L. Thomas, "Romantic Reform in America, 1815-1865," *American Quarterly*, vol. 17, pp. 656-681.

[88] "Letters of Thomas Conway," July 15, 1857. Conway refers to "Progressive New England Fanatics . . . the whole of the diseased action of the New England school of canting Monomaniac progressionists . . ."

[89] Sam Hadley to George Allen, letter of March 21, 1855. *Hadley Papers*, K.S.H.S., mss. division. Typed copies of original mss. in microfilm. These letters have also been published: Joseph Gambone, ed., "A Vegetarian Utopia: The Letters of John Milton Hadley, 1855-1856," *KHQ*, vol. 38, pp. 65-87.

[90] *Ibid*.

[91] *Hadley Papers*, Milton Hadley to George Allen, letters of April 25 and July 19, 1855.

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[92] *Ibid.*, M. Hadley to Allen, letter of April 25, 1855. The vegetarian colony, a failure, is discussed in: Russell Hickman, "The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies," *KHQ*, vol. 2, pp. 377-385. A tragic story of high hopes and personal loss in connection with the colony is: Miriam Davis Colt, *Went to Kansas: Being a Thrilling Account*, etc. (Watertown: L. Ingalls & Co., 1862). Reprinted by University Microfilms, 1966, *March of America Series*.

[93] *Hadley Papers*, M. Hadley to Allen, letter of May 25, 1855.

[94] *Ibid.*, letters of January 9 and May 12, 1856.

[95] H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*. Living Age Books (New York: Meridian, 1960); *The Kingdom of God in America*. Harper Torchbook (New York: Harper and Row, 1959).

[96] *The Kingdom of God in America*, p. xii.

[97] *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

[98] *Ibid.*, pp. 135-163. Timothy Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 205, notes that when Daniel Wise became editor of the widely-circulated Methodist paper, *Zion's Herald*, in 1852, one of his opening statements to the readership was "political action is moral action." Wise held that the Lord expected every action of the Christian to be holy, and that withdrawal from politics only encouraged the growth of evil in the world.

[99] American Home Missionary Society, *Thirtieth Annual Report* (New York: John A. Gray's Fireproof Printing Office, 1856), pp. 92-93.

[100] Timothy Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 60, argues that evangelistic revivalism (which at the time included a strong strain of perfectionism) frequently looked to the political sphere for appropriate action in the 1850's. John Bodo, *op. cit.*, develops the thesis that clerical interest in the political and social order immediately prior to the Kansas territorial period was sustained by men who sought an indirect ecclesiastical control of American society.

[101] Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[102] The full text is reprinted in Wilder, *Annals*, p. 51.

[103] Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[104] Lindquist, *art. cit.*, p. 433.

[105] Alberta Pantle, compiler and editor, "The Connecticut Kansas Colony: Letters of Charles B. Lines to the New Haven (Conn.) Daily Palladium," *KHQ*, vol. 22, p. 39.

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[106] McNamara, Three Years on the Kansas Border, p. 102.

[107] "Letters of S.Y. Lum," KHQ, vol. 25, p. 59. Letter of April, 1855.

[108] Lindquist, art. cit., p. 433.

[109] Herald of Freedom, February 16, 1856, p. 31.

[110] Ibid.

[111] "Letters of S.Y. Lum," KHQ, vol. 25, p. 192. Letter of October 5, 1857.

[112] Pantle, art. cit., p. 31. Letter of April 28, 1856.

[113] Ibid., p. 35, letter of May 2, 1856.

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CHAPTER THREE

A DOUBLE MISSION TO PERFORM:
NORTHERN PROTESTANTS AND THE FREE-STATE MOVEMENT

When Daniel Wise became editor of the influential Methodist newspaper, Zion's Herald, in 1852, he expressed the feelings of an increasing number of his fellow evangelical Protestants in the north when he wrote: "political action is moral action."[1] A significant number of the northern Protestants who went to Kansas seemed to have agreed with Wise's conviction. They demonstrated their agreement with the idea by their work for the Free-state movement in the new territory, work which had important bearing on the support the movement received inside the territory and in the eastern states. This work included participation in Free-state councils from that movement's inception; election to and participation in the Free-state conventions and legislatures; some political education and propaganda work among their fellow-Kansans; and, perhaps most importantly, a continuous stream of interpretation of events in Kansas sent to home missions magazines, denominational journals and secular newspapers. The victory of the Free-state party in attaining a majority in the territorial legislature in late 1857 marked the beginning of the anti-slavery triumph in Kansas. That victory, as this chapter will demonstrate, owed much to those northern Protestants working for the Free-state cause.

I. Four Paradigms

It is important to remember that the Kansas conflict was not confined within the borders of the territory, but consisted in events and perceptions that operated simultaneously in the territory and in the country as a whole. To begin to indicate the connection between the Free-state movement and its northern Protestant supporters, four illustrations paradigmatic of the connection are considered. Each points to some dimension of the stake certain northern Protestants held to be at issue in the conflict.

In a circular letter dated July 2, 1855, ministerial spokesmen for the New England Emigrant Aid Company attempted to register every New England minister as a life member of the company. Lyman Beecher, T. Starr King, Hosea Ballou II, Horace Bushnell and Edward Everett Hale signed the letter. These prestigious names were lent to the organization which attempted to ensure that the future shape of Kansas would not include slavery. The benefits the company letter promised included the support of churches and schools, the encouragement of temperance and economic needs such as sawmills were provided for. The opening part of the letter includes the following rationale for ministerial assistance:

> By insuring . . . their cooperation in the direction of this Company, and by enlarging its funds at this period of its highest usefulness, we are satisfied that the Christians of New England will bring to bear a stronger influence in sustaining the principles of what was last year called the "Ministers Memorial," than by any other means which Providence puts in their hands.[2]

One year after this letter had been circulated, Ephraim Nute spoke before the May meeting of the American Unitarian Association in Boston. The occasion was one full of tension and anger. Charles Sumner had been beaten on the floor of the U.S. Senate only a week before. Lawrence in Kansas Territory was threatened by a mob which actually did attack and destroy certain properties in the city. At his denomination's meeting, Nute was a fire-brand. He excoriated New Englanders apathetic to the plight of the free-staters who were then literally under the gun at Lawrence. Nute closed his emotional remarks with these questions:

> FREEDOM! Would this Association sustain him in the position he had taken in their place? Were they really in earnest in so doing? Did they wish him to go on, even unto death? 3

In response to their missionary, the association passed two resolutions, one sympathizing with the suffering free-state men in Kansas, and another grieving for the injury done to Charles Sumner.[4]

Two years later, in 1858, a Methodist layman, identified only as I. Pipher, wrote a letter to the Western Christian Advocate, later reprinted by other northern Methodist journals. In his letter, Pipher observed that while Kansas Territory had many ministers, too many of them were involved in politics to suit his taste as a Christian. He said in part:

> . . . we need efficient men, deeply imbued with the spirit of their mission; men who feel it their chief duty to preach the gospel of Christ, to hunt up the lost sheep and stray lambs, and gather them into the fold, and build up the church of God, rather than to become political leaders, attending political meetings and making political speeches, which is unfortunately and too frequently the case here.[5]

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Writing a reply in the Independent Democrat of Concord, New Hampshire, Julia Lovejoy took serious exception of Pipher's charges. She said that she considered the letter to be a "gross wholesale libel," on Kansas ministers who had experienced such great privations during the previous three years.[6]

Finally, there is the terminus event in this study's schematization, the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, which took place in July, 1859. It was a convention comprised of representatives of all factions and sides in the Kansas conflict, though it was dominated by former Free-state (now Republican) men. In Chapter Five, some of the convention's attitudes and actions that involve black and Indian people will be represented. For now, it is sufficient to note two small details, the appointment of the chaplain and the seating of special guests.

The chaplain appointed by the convention was the Rev. Werter R. Davis. He had come to Kansas in 1858 to assume the presidency of the northern Methodist school, Baker University. One of the convention participants offered the following reminiscence:

> Werter R. Davis was the good-looking and able Chaplain of the Convention. His prayers were short and fervent, his Sunday sermons able and eloquent. He made himself a universal favorite by his pleasant demeanor, and great interest in the daily sessions, and we all looked forward to the day when we could salute him as Bishop.[7]

The other detail is that invited to take seats, "within the bar," were ladies, territorial legislators and the clergy.[8]

Each of the four paradigms illustrates something of the importance of the Kansas struggle for certain northern Protestants in the territory and in the eastern states. There was a good deal of truth in the Pipher accusation, and there were churchmen in the territory and in the eastern states who would point with pride to northern Protestant contributions toward making Kansas a free state. The circular letter of the Emigrant Aid Company is one example of the support that northern churchmen attracted for their side in the Kansas struggle, support that came from some of the most respected clerical leaders in New England; interestingly, the men listed as principal signers of the letter temporarily suspended some deep theological differences--the common struggle enlisted them as at least temporary allies in the Kansas cause. The American Unitarian Association's response to Ephraim Nute is only one of the number of instances in which the leadership groups of northern Protestant institutions lent their support to both the congregation-building and political work of their representatives in Kansas. Finally, the courtesies extended to Werter Davis and other ministers at the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention suggest something of the deference and gratitude the new powers in Kansas territory felt toward their clerical supporters; having stood and fought with them to make Kansas a free state, these gestures by Free-state politicians were small tokens of esteem and respect for the churchmen.

II. Churchmen and the Free-state Movement

Those northern Protestants who became involved in the Free-state movement knew themselves to be working for two principal purposes; the exclusion of slavery from Kansas, and the defeat of southern and other pro-slavery settlers in the struggle for political power. The movement was made up of Kansas settlers angered by what they felt to be a federal administration on the side of the pro-slavery interests and a territorial government blatantly and unfairly thwarting the legal avenues to settling the Kansas struggle. From the beginning of the formal organization of the movement into a territory-wide political party in 1855, Free-staters thought of themselves in terms of justified resistance against the territorial legislature and, on occasion, the federal government as well. Much of the resistance expressed itself in words--convention resolutions, newspaper reports which favored the Free-state view of territorial events, public and private letters, and speeches in Kansas and in the northern states. But Free-staters backed up their words with actions. They formed companies of armed men; they refused to pay territorial taxes; and they set in motion a territorial government of their own which held elections for state officers and even issued its own currency. The Topeka Constitution, the charter of the movement, was several times proposed for ratification on the floor of the United States House of Representatives in connection with a bid for statehood for Kansas. Especially during the years 1856 and 1857, Kansas Free-staters and their allies in the northern states coordinated a broad campaign soliciting political support for their goals as well as

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financial and material assistance for Free-state settlers. When the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention took place in July, 1859, most members of the Free-state movement consented to join the newly-organized Republican party. The convention wrote the document which became the state constitution of Kansas when it was admitted to the union in 1861. Republicans dominated the convention, as they would dominate the Kansas political scene for years to come.[9] The Free-state movement had achieved its purposes.

The same northern Protestants described in the previous chapter as interested in securing a place for their denomination in Kansas, and interested as well in building a well-ordered, temperate and prosperous society, were usually firm supporters of the Free-state movement. Some even deserve the title of "leader," because of their influence in the movement. Made up of persons in the revival-minded Calvinist tradition and together with their political allies in the small but powerful liberal Christian groups (especially Unitarians), these politicized churchmen cannot be said to have been a numerical majority among all Protestants in the territory. Yet they are "typical" at least in the sense that what they said and did for their respective churches and their political movement was widely reported, and, to judge only by eastern response, widely approved; they also had the good fortune to be part of a struggle which ended in victory for their side. The ministers and laymen who self-consciously linked their Christian duty and Free-statism saw "Free Kansas" not only as an anti-slavery goal, but the very condition for the extension of northern institutions, culture and refinements which was the specific content of their hope for "civilization" in Kansas.

The genesis of the Free-state movement was in Lawrence. In that pro-northern city, events took place in the first several months of the territory's existence which presaged the coming struggle. Samuel Lum, Lawrence's A.H.M.S. missionary, became prominent there fairly early. In December of 1854, Lum attended a meeting of Lawrence citizens organized to protest alleged voting irregularities by Missourians in the first territorial elections which had been held in November. At the meeting, it was Lum alone who urged some strong action, while the majority of citizens simply wanted to pass a few strong resolutions.[10] By February of 1855, Lum was involved in the "Free State Society," a Lawrence political club which was to become the nucleus of the Free-state movement. Lum was a member of the society's "executive committee."[11]

During the first half of 1855, more and more people immigrated to Kansas, among them many of the northern Christians who figure in this study.[12] It was the latter part of March when the notorious "Bogus Legislature," was elected, largely because bands of armed Missourians crossed the border to vote illegally and intimidate legitimate voters.[13] This election and the influx of settlers of a free-state bent helped create the atmosphere in which the Free-state movement would flourish. The major organizing conference of the group, comprising 600 persons, was held at Lawrence, in August of 1855.[14] For the first time in the territory's young life, most adherents of a free state met together and planned concerted action. Very prominent in this and subsequent Free-state activities were northern Christians, lay and clerical.

From the beginning of the convention, clergy held important positions. Among those appointed to nominate a permanent Free-state committee were A.H.M.S. missionary Charles E. Blood of Manhattan and Quaker missionary Richard Mendenhall. Mendenhall and two other ministers, Methodist Joseph Denison and Congregationalist Harvey Jones were appointed to the convention's resolutions committee.[15] One account of the Lawrence meeting notes that at least five clergymen spoke to the assembled Free-staters. Methodist missionary Charles Lovejoy spoke, "in favor of freedom to Kansas from slavery, as also from intemperance."[16] Samuel Lum told the group, " . . . we are in the midst of revolutionary times."[17] A man identified only as a "Rev. Mr. Clark," of New Hampshire said to the group that this was the most important meeting he had ever attended.[18] On the second day of the convention, Baptist James Gilpatrick gave the opening prayer, and then addressed the delegates in these strong terms:

> The question is not whether we will have slaves in Kansas; but whether we will be slaves ourselves. A worse than Vandal horde are riveting chains upon us. For myself I will not consent thay shall do it. I would rather go to a southern plantation and labor by the side of the meanest slave, and be compelled to toil on for life, than submit to the degradation and kind of enslavement proposed to be heaped upon us.[19]

Two other conventions, held in the months of September and October, completed the Free-state organizing effort. At the Big Springs convention, there were three clerical delegates. Besides Richard Mendenhall, Methodist Presiding Elder Abraham Still and A.H.M.S. missionary J.M. Tuton were delegates. Mendenhall was a member of the State Organization committee that emerged from the meeting, and Still was a member of the resolutions committee.[20] At the Topeka Constitutional Convention, A.H.M.S. missionary Richard Knight and a "Rev. Burgess," gave the opening prayers. There were four delegates who were clerics, chosen in what their enemies termed illegal elections held in Free-state settlements around Kansas Territory. These were: Tuton, Burgess, W.R. Griffith and Richard Knight.[21] All four signed the constitution, regarded by many as a revolutionary document which involved its framers in outlawry, if not treason, because it was framed in defiance of Federal and territorial government and procedures.

Tensions between the two sides were only worsened by the Topeka convention and its document. In September, the territorial legislature called "bogus" by the Free-staters, had passed a set of laws to protect slave property in the territory. Among other things, the laws prescribed death to insurrection-fomenters, slave-stealers and underground railroaders. Two years' hard labor was the penalty for resisting an officer pursuing an escaping slave. Writing or circulating "abolitionist" literature merited five years' hard labor. And, as a guarantee of these laws' efficiency, no jurors of anti-slavery opinion were allowed to judge alleged offenders.[22] During the first Lawrence crisis in November and December of 1855, the so-called "Wakarusa war," only the intervention of Governor Shannon prevented armed confrontation between Free-state and Slave-state forces who had gathered at Lawrence.

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While this particular crisis resulted in only a few deaths, new fuel was added to the building fire when in mid-December, 1,778 voted in the ratification election of the Topeka Constitution.[23] On January 15, the election of state officers under the Topeka convention was held, and at least one Free-state legislator was killed in reaction.[24] Tensions continued to build, and the "sack of Lawrence" and bloody summer of 1856 followed.[25] The role of the northern churchmen in this sequence of events bears further examination.

Besides the clergymen already mentioned, others actively supported the Free-state movement and its resistance to the pro-slavery group. During the Lawrence crisis, the foundations of Ephraim Nute's new Unitarian church in Lawrence was used as one of five forts, while some of the timbers earmarked for the church frame were used in additional fortifications.[26] In a letter describing the early December days of the crisis, to the Unitarian Quarterly Journal, published in Boston, Nute had this to say:

> [I would] use my utmost efforts to prevent bloodshed. But if it comes to a fight, in which we shall be forced to defend our homes and lives against the assault of these border savages (and by the way, the Indians are being enlisted on both sides), I shall do my best to keep them off.[27]

A few days later, Nute wrote:

> [I have] enrolled in the cavalry, though I have not yet appeared in the ranks, but should there be an attack, I shall be there . . . I could feel no self-respect until I had offered my services.[28]

Nute portrayed himself to his Unitarian readers as a good man among good people beset by "border savages." While he proclaimed himself reluctant to use violence, he also presented himself as prepared to fight if the need arose.

After Nute's dramatic appearance at the meeting of the American Unitarian Association in May, 1856, the Kansas pastor spent several weeks touring New England to raise money for Free-staters. He returned to Kansas later in the summer to find that all of his possessions except his books had been plundered by the mob that attacked Lawrence the preceding May.[29] More serious provocation came when Nute's brother-in-law was killed by scalping in Leavenworth. The murderer was a well-known roughneck of the pro-slavery side. Immediately upon hearing the news, Nute took his rifle and mounted a horse to ride to Leavenworth to seek justice. He wrote to a friend just before he left Lawrence on his mission:

> I have no scruple against borrowing a Sharpe's rifle and I pray God to give me calmness and skill to use it effectively if we are attacked, notwithstanding the sneers of those who desire that we should be left without any protection against these butcheries.[30]

But instead of bringing the murderer to justice, Nute found himself in great danger. While assisting his sister, widow of the murdered man, onto a steamboat, Nute was recognized and assaulted. Soon he was arrested and threatened with scalping. He was imprisoned for a week and a half in Leavenworth, and then released. Much was made in the east both of the scalping murder and Nute's imprisonment. Ralph Waldo Emerson and Theodore Parker both recounted the incidents at Free-state fund-raising meetings in the Boston area in September of 1856.[31]

An interesting combination of evangelical and political work at this time is seen in the tour of sourthern Kansas undertaken by two Methodists, Abraham Still and John E. Stewart. Still, the Presiding Elder for the southern Kansas district, and Stewart, a volunteer preacher from New Hampshire, toured the area in December and January of 1856. In a newspaper report of the tour, Stewart evidenced a strong identification with the Free-state movement. He reported the character of the population:

> A large majority of the settlers in this neighborhood are free State men of the right stamp, who are determined to think, vote, and fight, if need be, for the rights and privileges they have enjoyed in the states they have left.[32]

In their travels, Still and Stewart met a group of Free-staters who were on their way to Lawrence. The group asked if the Lawrence Free-state group had accepted peace in the "Wakarusa war" on dishonorable terms. Stewart said that he, "set them straight. They laughed." He continued:

> . . . we separated, feeling that we had a double mission to perform; not only to preach the Gospel, but to correct the errors about, and state the true position of the Free State Party in Kansas.[33]

As if in illustration of this sense of double mission, Stewart next recounted a pastoral stop at a cabin where Still preached, and Stewart afterwards answered questions on the Lawrence crisis. A religious society of fifteen members was formed, but there had also been strong propaganda for the Free-state cause.[34]

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Stewart was one of several northern Protestant clergy to suffer hardship during the months of crisis from November of 1855 to September of 1856. He recalled late in 1856 that his crops and cattle had been destroyed in November of 1855 by marauders. During the succeeding months, Stewart rode circuit to Methodist groups, approximately 300 miles each month. During the summer of 1856, he found his duties greatly interrupted by bands of Missourians, Georgians and Alabamians harrassing Free-state settlers.[35] In the spring of 1856, Stewart planted his crops armed, because the owner of the adjoining land had been shot. With his neighbors, Stewart looked upon the man as a martyr, and he said:

> [We] moved to avenge his death. We then pledged ourselves, each to the other to defend the Territory against slavery; and vowed if it should ever be made a slave state that we would not abandon it, but stay and harass the enemy as they had cruelly persecuted us.[36]

Throughout these troubled months, Stewart said that he had to hide his wife and children in the woods many nights to escape suspected attackers. He said that he always had a case packed for his wife with a few valuables in it in case they were forced to flee. Stewart himself, in mid-summer of 1856, rode in an armed company seeking to disperse camps of southerners.[37]

As ready to violence as Stewart was, Quaker missionary Richard Mendenhall was an advocate of non-violence. Though a resister and active member of the Free-state movement and party, Mendenhall was twice appointed to county offices during the period under study, the offices of assessor and justice of the peace; in 1858, he was re-elected assessor of Lykins County.[38] Besides his extensive involvement with the formation of the Free-state movement, Mendenhall also wrote articles for certain eastern newspapers. His son later recalls that those activities made him the target of threats on his life in the troubled months of 1856.[39] During that same year, his son reports, he was also receiving and guiding numbers of fugitive slaves on their way to Canada. John Brown stopped at Mendenhall's home on one leg of his famous 1858 raid into Missouri.[40]

Perhaps Mendenhall's most intriguing role in the Free-state struggle was that of leadership of a small, radical caucus within the movement. Nathan Henshaw, a member of the group, recalled that John Brown and other radical members of the Free-state movement used to gather in what was probably the only true abolitionist group in territorial Kansas. In a setting worthy of a novel, the Mendenhall cabin was secluded in the midst of heavy woods, and could not be seen by any rider until he was almost upon it. No records were kept of the meetings, probably for fear of discovery. Henshaw depicts men riding into and out of meetings secretly. The meetings were generally discussions of strategy to be employed in political battles both within and without the Free-state party. Mendenhall apparently had at least a temporary restraining influence on the angry Brown after the old man had lost his son Frederick to southern raiders:

> . . . in those evening secret meetings he [Brown] would reherse [sic] those terrible events, and as he talked them over this man with his impetuous nature resolved and resolved no doubt that every drop of that son's blood should free one slave . . . if it had not been for his sturdy Quaker friend [Mendenhall] there might have been greater deeds of bloodshed in K.T.[41]

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A Congregationalist layman who arrived late in the Kansas struggle deserves mention among active northern Christians in the Free-state movement. Timothy Dwight Thacher was considered by his fellows a "radical" free-stater, that is, one who would not compromise his principles for political expediency. Among Thacher's uncompromised principles were abolitionism and the right of Negroes to be full citizens, principles which, as we will note in Chapter Five, were quite foreign to most members of the Free-state movement. Thacher arrived in Lawrence in the spring of 1857.[42] His first pastor, Richard Cordley, was himself a member of the Free-state "Andover Band" of Congregationalist Kansas missionaries. Cordley recalled in a later reminiscence that Thacher was "anti-slavery by heredity, education, and personal conviction. He based his opposition on radical grounds. He had no apologies to offer, no compromises to make."[43] Thacher found that most of the Free-state men were anti-Negro, and frequently demonstrated that their interest was political power and not human rights. In the pages of his newspaper, the *Lawrence Republican*, he expressed contempt of the "Free *White* State" sentiment of his fellow Free-staters. He would often contrast his own abolition values against the economic and pragmatic opposition to slavery common in Free-state ranks.[44] Perhaps Thacher's greatest contribution to the Free-state movement was his leadership of the effort to organize the Republican party in Kansas Territory in 1858 and 1859. The success of the Republican party, especially in the elections surrounding the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, helped both the Free-state cause and the goals of the Republican party in Kansas and in the nation as a whole.[45]

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Richard Cordley also rather proudly noted that Thacher was a member of the Plymouth Congregational Church of Lawrence and was always at services.[46]

Congregationalists in Topeka, another Free-state settlement, clearly demonstrated the connection they felt between their religion and the cause of "Free Kansas." In a Topeka cabin on October 14, 1855, a meeting was held, as the church records stated, "to consult in reference to the formation of an Anti-Slavery Congregational Church."[47] By 1858, the congregation was referred to as the "Free Congregational Church of Topeka."[48] During the territorial period, the church was served by two A.H.M.S. pastors, both of whom were active in Free-state politics. Presbyterian Paul Shepherd was the congregation's pastor until the arrival of Rev. Lewis Bodwell in October of 1856. Bodwell was both an ardent missionary and a convinced Free-stater. The Topeka church's evaluation of him was high because of his impact on the members during troubled times: "His advent infused new life into our hearts perplexed and somewhat 'cast down' from the state of Society growing out of the outrages perpetrated upon the people of our Territory, outrages unparallelled in the history of our nation."[49]

Another late-comer to the Free-state movement was Unitarian Daniel Foster, a young man who came to Kansas after a term as chaplain to the lower house of the Massachusetts General Court. He explained his motivation for immigrating to Kansas in an 1857 letter: " .... our cause must receive a baptism of blood before it can be victorious. I expect to serve in Capt. John Brown's company in the next Kansas war, which I hope is inevitable and near at hand."[50] Foster was serious enough about the cause to consider taking out a $300 life insurance policy to aid his wife and children if he should be killed. As things worked out, however, Foster spent his time teaching school and preaching, giving an occasional abolitionist speech.[51]

The preceding group of northern Protestants active in the Free-state movement is by no means comprehensive.[52] But the individuals discussed are not untypical. The following sections illustrate that to both citizens of Kansas and people in the eastern states, the northern Protestants surveyed previously and others as well often took on the job of interpretation and propaganda for the Free-state movement. Few of them evidence any hesitation in performing their double mission of evangelizing for their denomination and assisting the Free-state cause. Some even present the Kansas conflict in terms explicitly linking that cause to the purposes of the God they preached.

III. Interpretation and Propaganda

As deeply involved on the organizational level of the Free-state movement as they were, these Northern Protestants made perhaps their greatest contribution on the level of interpretation and legitimation. For these persons, the movement and cause of no slavery in Kansas was God's work and nothing less. Many Northern Protestants in the territory functioned to sustain the members of the movement there, and to provide a continuing stream of interpreted news concerning the Kansas situation to missionary boards, denominational journals, newspapers, and Kansas aid groups, as well as families and friends in the east. Taken as a whole, this literature and correspondence is considerable. It is safe to say that it did at least as much to aid the Free-state cause in the receptive minds of northerners as any similar effort such as reports in secular newspapers. This literature by northern Protestants was supplemented with appearances by actors in the struggle like Ephraim Nute. But by itself, the literature reached more people in the eastern states; and because of the Christian affiliation and language of its authors, the letters and newspaper correspondence of these northern Protestants was given great credence.

We have already looked at several of the ministers' remarks made at Free-state gatherings. Other such general support for the anti-slavery cause came from many sources, but especially from ministers in their words and work. William Goode, the Methodist who toured the newly-opened territory for his church, notes that both the Friends' and the Baptists' Indian missions became known as centers for "friends of freedom."[53] Goode noted the work of the Friends Mission as quiet but effective in performing its part in the "great struggle," to keep slavery from Kansas.[54] His comments on the Baptist missionary, Rev. Barker, praised that man's devotion to the Free-state cause, which apparently had affected his Indian missionary status with the government: " . . . in his relations and work he fell a sacrifice to his stern and uncompromising conscientiousness as an antislavery man--perhaps I should add as an opposer of prevailing sin in every form."[55]

When the Charles Lines New Haven company of Free-state immigrants came to Lawrence in April of 1856, he wrote to his New Haven readers that

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they were welcomed at a "huge and joyful celebration.[56] Among the welcoming speakers to this group, famed as the carriers of "Beecher Bibles," or Sharpe's repeating rifles, was Samuel Lum. That same Congregationalist missionary, so deeply involved with Free-state matters was a regular interpreter of the Free-state cause in his letters to the A.H.M.S. One of his letters to the society in October of 1857, sounded an ominous warning. His remarks indicate both his sense of "place" in the leadership of the Free-state movement, and the fact that he felt quite comfortable in indicating this to his sending society. Lum, commenting on the coming territorial elections in which he feared his party would lose, said: "If we are defeated, it will be with much caution that we take the next step."[57] The "next step" could mean anything from taking over control of the territory by force to merely setting the Free-state alternate government in full operation again. But that Lum could speak in these terms indicates his close association and fellow-feeling with the Free-state party leadership.

Even on Sunday school level, Christian leaders might press home to the children the righteousness of the anti-slavery cause. One such leader, the Rev. James H. Carruth, was recalled by a student:

> He taught besides Christianity,
> No Tobacco.
> No Intoxicating drinks.
> No Slavery.
> Daily Bath all over.[58]

At least two conventions of Christian leaders offered uncompromising condemnations of slavery which would be viewed by Kansans as explicit approval of the Free-state cause and would receive wide circulation in the east. The ecumenical "Clerical Convention," held in Lawrence, mentioned in the previous chapter, published a unanimously adopted statement which, unlike some statements issued by their Protestant brethren in the eastern states, minced no words about "non-interference." For the group of ministers, slavery was a "flagrant violation of the rights with which every member of the human family is endowed by the Creator and Father; a desecration of the Divine image, and a curse alike to the enslaved and the oppressor."[59] In that same convention, a ministerial alliance was formed, which attracted two theological opponents, Samuel Lum and Ephraim Nute. In the statement of purpose, it was written: "The object of this alliance shall be to promote the circulation of the Scriptures, the observance of the Sabbath, the causes of Freedom, Temperance and other moral reforms."[60]

Congregationalist leaders met in conference in April of 1857 and published another strong statement on slavery. Their text reads:

> Resolved 1. That the system of American Chattel Slavery is a high crime against God and humanity, and, as such, is prima facie evidence against the Christian character of those implicated in it.
> 2. That this Association will in no manner fellowship with any other ecclesiastical body which willfully sustains, directly or indirectly, that system.[61]

On unidentified Christian, probably a local clergyman in or around Lawrence, took on a notorious pro-slavery Army chaplain in a published debate on slavery in early 1855. The debate, between "Doulos" and the Rev. Leander Ker of Fort Leavenworth, was published in the Lawrence Herald of Freedom. Ker spoke of the pro-slavery side using scripture in support of its arguments, while enemies of slavery would quote more frequently, it seemed, the "Abolition journals," of men like Greeley and Garrison.[62] "Doulos" responded with an argument which had

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as its gist that because one thing, like slavery, is required or permitted by God or society at a given time does not mean that thing is right forever or for a particular time.[63] Two weeks later, editor George Brown, the Unitarian layman, published some further remarks by "Doulos," and a long article against slavery by William Ellery Channing.[64]

Another leading Unitarian layman, Charles Robinson, was probably the most respected leader of the Free-state movement organization. He was to be elected "governor" under the Topeka Constitution and spend several months in the Lecompton federal prison camp under charges of treason. At an 1855 July 4th celebration, Robinson made a grand peroration of his speech to about 1500 persons:

> Every pulsation in Kansas vibrates to the remotest artery of the body politic; and I seem to hear the millions of freemen, and the millions of bondmen, in our own land, the millions of oppressed in other lands, the patriots and philanthropists of all countries, the spirits of the revolutionary heroes, and the voice of God, all saying to the people of Kansas, "Do your duty!"[65]

One person who saw his duty in this light was recalled by Robinson's wife, Sara. She humorously recounts a meeting with an Iowa emigrant who was a minister, "of some kind," who came to Kansas, he said, "to plant the institutions of freedom."[66] The man told Mrs. Robinson that as a minister he could not bear arms; but, he added, he still believed in Cromwell's motto, "Trust God, and keep your powder dry."[67]

Ministers who lived away from Lawrence or other Free-state centers often felt the effects of their isoloation. Deprived of the protection and strengthening of allies, they were subject to harrassment and also danger, and in some instances, a debilitating sense of isolation.

Rev. J.B. McAfee, a Luthern missionary to Kansas, located in Leavenworth in April, 1855. In that pro-southern city, he was soon contacted by a citizen's committee and ordered to preach a sermon on the subject, "Slavery is a divine institution and ordained of God." McAfee refused, saying that he, "would as soon undertake to prove that his satanic majesty was still an angel of light. . . " McAfee's answer angered the citizen group and he received a message to leave Leavenworth or hang. The minister was not intimidated, however, and chose to stay and begin his church. Though he later lost the building to persons hostile to his views, he re-established himself in nearby Valley Falls.[68]

The previously-cited events of the career of the Rev. Pardee Butler, self-chosen Disciples missionary, also exemplify the danger free-state churchmen faced when at any distance from Lawrence. Because he would not, or perhaps could not, keep silence on his free-state and anti-slavery views, Atchison mobs twice came close to hanging Butler. On the first occasion, only because cooler heads in the crowd prevailed, the hanging idea was abandoned. Instead, Butler was placed on a raft and set adrift on the wide and dangerous Missouri River with orders not to try to reach shore or he would be shot. Fortunately, he was able to bring the raft to shore six miles below Atchison. One year later, he was again seized by a mob in Atchison, and this time was tarred and "cottoned," and left out in the open far from any human settlement.[69]

The first United Brethren missionary to Kansas Territory, Josiah Terrel, worked in the area of Fort Scott from the summer of 1854. His anti-slavery views were unpopular in that pro-slavery center. A terse conference report in November of 1856 noted that Terrel was weathering all attempts to drive him out.[70]

The final example of what danger a free-state sympathizer could face when not near Lawrence involves both Leavenworth and Atchison. The Rev. John McNamara, Episcopal missionary in the region of Leavenworth, described himself as free-state in politics, but, "not a disturber," in one instance, refusing parishioners' requests that he attend a Free-state convention.[71] Despite his silence on political issues, he received several threats on his life, and was denied a "preaching-place" and a cabin because he was not pro-slavery.[72] McNamara left the territory at the end of 1855 for health and personal reasons--two of his children had died while he was practicing his ministry in and around Kansas Territory. On his way out of the territory, he stopped in Atchison. During his short stay in that city, before travelling out of the territory, McNamara once again faced a threatening situation. The two editors of the virulently anti-northern newspaper in Atchison, the Squatter Sovereign, knew who McNamara was. They met him on the street one day, and in McNamara's words, "looked daggers" at him.[73] The missionary feared that the fate of Pardee Butler would be his. Despite his fears, McNamara and his wife made their way safely out of the territory. The mild-mannered Episcopalian, who scrupulously sought to avoid politics while in Kansas Territory, was affected enough by his experiences to write an influential memoir which received wide circulation throughout the North. That memoir, as one of several published during the Kansas struggle, helped rouse the North to sympathy and action on behalf of the free-staters.

Finally, to complete the sketch of Northern Christians supporting the Free-state cause and each other during the Kansas struggle, two religious services are noteworthy. Samuel Lum recounts one of his congregation's "social prayer meetings," during the days of mounting tension in the spring of 1856:

> The members of my little church, though deprived of their place for public worship [the hall was used for arms and strategy meetings], met in the private circle for prayer, and with a deep earnestness and holy confidence in God, sought wisdom as well as strength from on high. They felt much like the fathers of the revolution, determined to die; if necessary, in the cause of God and the right.[74]

A similar service was described by Charles Lines, in Topeka during the violent summer of that same year:

> We spent the Sabbath in Topeka, but it was no Sabbath to us. We walked to the room where service is usually held, and found less than a dozen persons present. The minister offered a prayer and called upon others to speak and pray. The conversation all turned upon Kansas, and the war, in the prayers, earnest petitions were offered for the success of the people in their struggle for liberty; and especially that God would so control the coming Presidential election as to secure a result favorable to freedom.[75]

Even in this sampling of Christian persons within the territory during the Kansas struggle, it should be clear that many persons in the Free-state ranks were able to find support and affirmation for their political stance from their fellow-Christians and also, perhaps especially, from their ministers. What emerges from the political speeches and writings, and also from the sermons and prayer-services mentioned is a picture of a strong Christian overtone to the day-by-day struggle which the Free-staters felt themselves to be in. Yet, as important as this was, from a national point of view, it was the writings and speeches of Kansans to their stateside fellow northerners on the Free-state issue and events surrounding it that probably strengthened the cause in even more tangible ways.

A. Missionaries' Letters

One of the most important means of contact between Christian Free-staters and their brethren in the east was the regular letters which missionaries sent to their sending societies. In the previous chapter, we have seen excerpts from these letters which describe church work and general conditions. But the missionaries would also comment often on the political scene, whether in general terms to fill in the picture of territorial conditions, or to mention their own involvement, or to express their own Christian interpretation of the fortunes of the Free-state cause. In at least one major instance, the correspondence of the American Home Missionary Society men in Kansas, these letters were excerpted and published for a missions magazine which reached the homes and churches of thousands of easterners. The secretary of that society, Milton Badger, edited the letters for publication in the Home Missionary, and it is interesting to note that he would as often excerpt descriptions of political conditions as religious ones.[76]

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Samuel Lum provides what appears to be the most extensive collection in the A.H.M.S. Kansas letters. It is Lum also, so deeply concerned with the Free-state movement, who most frequently offers observations on the political and other conditions which the Free-staters faced. From his letters to the board of the A.H.M.S., Lum displays a conviction of Free-statism's righteousness and a sense of participation in a divine purpose to make Kansas free of slavery. For example, in one of his early letters, sent in the fall of 1854, he described what he discovered so far to be the motivation for emigration to Kansas from the east: "A holy purpose has called them to this western world, and they came with all the elements necessary, with God's blessing, for the accomplishment of that purpose [italics mine] . . ."[77] In a letter sent in late February of 1855, Lum commented on the death of a parishioner, Lewis Litchfield: " . . . To die battling for the truth in Kansas, seemed a short way to the crown; & as we reviewed the scene, we felt new courage for the conflict before us, wishing only to fall in complete armor."[78] In a June, 1856 letter, Lum interprets the grave challenge that then seemed to face the Free-staters:

> . . . Kansas is now passing through the furnace. Her character is being formed under a welding heat. What type it will assume depends much upon what material the churches of our land shall throw into the crucible. We hope it may emerge from the fire bearing the same impress that New England received from her early trials.

> As to the issue between Freedom & Slavery, it cannot be decided wrong if the Free States do what they now seem determined upon. This is however, the darkest hour that Freedom has ever seen in Kansas; the entire force of the Government is brought to bear against it, & there is no indignity, no outrage which is not practiced upon the Free-State settlers . . . I can but feel that these things are developing clearly the true nature of our national foe & preparing the true men in all parts of the country to resist successfully its grasping demands.[79]

Succinctly and forcefully, Lum combined Christian zeal, New England regionalism, political analysis and moral prophecy in this passage, reprinted in the Home Missionary. Eastern readers who took or otherwise saw the journal would at least hear the plea and demand for support of all kinds for their fellow-Christians, "battling Slavery," on the Kansas frontier. As we shall note below, many easterners responded to the call for help as expressed by men like Lum.

In one of his final letters to the A.H.M.S., Lum assessed the work the society's men had accomplished and pleaded for more men of like character:

> The members of churches East are not the only individuals who should feel deeply interested in sending the right kind of missionaries to Kansas—true the work of saving men is their first work & the influence of the truth they preach will be mainly to free from the slavery to sin, —but apart from this they are . . . exerting an influence more mighty than any other, to overthrow that great American Curse, slavery. [He continues saying that wherever gospel ministers preach, those communities are centers for "Freedom"].

> All your Missionaries in Kansas are men of this stamp, & the lovers of Freedom--even though not lovers of God--have a deep interest in sustaining an agency that sends forth such an influence. I trust that until Kansas is free from all kinds of slavery, it [the A.H.M.S.] will not be compelled to abate one iota of all that it desires to do for God & Humanity.[80]

Lum's priorities in this letter are clearly outlined. As a Christian minister, he is chiefly concerned with the "slavery to sin." But in his opinion his work, and that of other churchmen, is the mightiest influence in battling the system of chattel-slavery which is part of the slavery to sin he speaks of. Even non-churchmen, he said, had a stake in sustaining the A.H.M.S. in Kansas territory, because its ministers were so effective in the anti-slavery and Free-state cause. Thus in Lum is seen a vigorous Christian worldview, from which perspective the fight against slavery and for a free state of Kansas are seen as proper church work and as combatting sin. Given the record of A.H.M.S. men in the development of the Free-state movement, Lum's views seem typical of at least that group of Congregationalist and Presbyterian missionaries.

Rev. James Gilpatrick also wrote frequent letters to his sending society, the American Baptist Home Missionary Society.[81] Like Lum, his primary concern was the growth of his church and what he saw as allied with that in importance, the temperance movement. But Gilpatrick was also an ardent Free-stateman. Though less sophisticated and theological than Lum in his analysis of the Kansas struggle, Gilpatrick frequently included descriptions of the Free-state movement and its troubles in his regular letters of report to the A.B.H.M.S. These instances would be another example of the informative, if not propagandistic, role which certain northern ministers assumed in interpreting the conflict to their superiors and brethren in the east. To recall an instance mentioned in the last chapter, in a March 31, 1855 letter, Gilpatrick commented on the problems which a Baptist colleague, a "Brother Hall," experienced in attempting to organize a Baptist congregation in Lawrence: "We have much with which to contend; the misrule and high-handed conduct of the people of Missouri in relation to our election, of which you, no doubt, have heard much, has produced a vast deal of unwholesome excitement."[82]

In a July letter of that same year, Gilpatrick observes that in his opinion most of the territory's settlers were Free-state in sentiment, and then adds: "But our elections have been carried by a horde of worse than vandals from the border State. From such a scourge, I trust, we shall be saved in time to come."[83] In describing the Lawrence crisis of late 1855 to his superiors, the Baptist missionary uses this language: "We . . . have had a vast deal of trouble and excitement, and some expense, consequent on the unrighteous and cruel invasion of inveterate foes from a border state."[84] As might be expected, it is the summer of 1856 which occasions Gilpatrick's most vivid description of Free-state fortunes in his letters to the A.B.H.M.S.:

> The hindrances to missionary effort still continue and are great. Bands of marauders of the vilest character, on the gorilla [sic] system are, and have been scouring the Territory, robbing, stealing, insulting, burning, and often murdering in the most horrid manner "free state" people. This, as you may suppose, produces great excitement, Indeed, our people have often been called from home to defend their neighbors, and when at home deem it necessary to be armed, and ready every moment for an attack by day and by night, and on the Sabbath; yes, they bring their fire-arms with them to the church.[85]

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The readers of Gilpatrick's letters could not help but get a certain kind of picture of the trials of their missionary and his fellow Christians in the Kansas troubles. His descriptive and interpretative words portrayed a gallant band of settlers, united on the Free-state issue, battling an unscrupulous and powerful foe who seemingly would stop at nothing to gain his unrighteous objective, slavery in Kansas territory and the yet-to-be state. That Free-staters were also riding on the "gorilla" system, and indeed had been involved in depredations themselves, notably the Potawatomie massacre, that summer, finds no mention in Gilpatrick's letters. He was a good propagandist.

B. Letters to Eastern Newspapers

Eastern newspapers, for example, Horace Greeley's New York Tribune, covered the Kansas struggle with their own correspondents.[86] But many easterners would get their Kansas news in reports from northern Protestants published in both secular and religious newspapers and journals. Two correspondents in this group stood out for their Free-state partisanship and their Christian conviction that the Free-state side in the conflict was the vehicle of the divine will. These were Julia Louisa Lovejoy and Charles B. Lines.

Julia Lovejoy, wife of Methodist missionary Charles Lovejoy, came to Kansas territory in 1856.[87] Her letters were sent to two New Hampshire papers, the New York Tribune, and three Christian newspapers published in Boston, St. Louis and Montpelier, Vermont.[88] Both she and her husband were abolitionists.

Mrs. Lovejoy's letters were full of descriptions of the troubles Free-state settlers encountered, and she frequently drew an extremely sharp contrast between the virtues of that group and the sins, vices and excesses of the pro-slavery group. Julia Lovejoy would write passages which appealed to the sympathies, values and prejudices of her readers in such a way that no doubt would be left of the rightness of the Free-state cause. For example, she wrote a letter in September of 1856, just after Lawrence had narrowly escaped another attack by pro-slavery forces. The town was full of refugees from the countryside, and Mrs. Lovejoy described a child she met who feared that her mother was dead. Mrs. Lovejoy commented: "Think of this, my sisters in New Hampshire, pure-minded, intelligent ladies fleeing from friends in human form whose brutal lust is infinitely more to be dreaded than death itself."[89] Another anecdote, related in a January, 1857, letter, contains a passage on a John A. Bailey, who, though wounded and beaten by pro-slavery guerillas, escaped death after praying to the "Great Deliverer":

> Strange to tell, he prayed not in vain; for in his extremity, the God of Daniel rescued his servant . . . and gave him strength and courage, to grapple with his murderous foe, as he ran to him with uplifted rifle, to beat out his brains. By a miraculous power he conquered . . . and by hiding in the tall grass, finally escaped alive.[90]

As many Free-staters did, Julia Lovejoy often appealed for financial and other kinds of aid. Her own stories of the sufferings of Free-staters and her comments upon the stories were a powerful appeal to easterners to continue their gifts of money, rifles, food and clothing. A typical passage:

> Some of those noble souls who have perilled [sic] their all and lost most of their earthly possessions, in battling the slave demon in Kansas, we doubt not, have been fed & clothed from my native town.[91]

A letter to a New Hampshire paper in December of 1857 is notable for its sustained invective, its sense of the righteousness of the Free-state cause, and the personal convictions of this minister's wife from the east, as this long excerpt shows:

> As much as we *once hated* the idea of women politicians, no true woman who has been cradled among the liberty loving people of New Hampshire . . . could be in Kansas and *see* what *we* have *seen* and *feel* what *we* have *felt*, and not wax enthusiastically zealous for universal freedom. Of all the shameful "crises" that have been basely forced upon us as a people, the crisis that matters have now assumed, seems to us the most hateful; and after all we have passed through from the tender niceties of slave democracy, if this bantling of a Constitution [the Lecompton Constitution] fraudently conceived in whisky-fuddled minds, and ushered into being amid the bristling bayonets of U.S. Soldiery to guard it from an outraged people—we repeat: if a government, under that miserable slave code is *forced* upon this struggling people, war is inevitable, and ere its death shriek shall die along the Kaw Valley, the people will be in arms from the nethermost settlement on the Republican fork, to Eldorado, two hundred miles away, in the far S.W. And Sirs, believe me, when this awful crisis comes, there will be found more than one "Joan of Arc" in point of moral courage, that will fearlessly stand for the right.
>
> . . . and how much longer, suppose ye, will christian men and women—unflinching advocates for temperance and moral purity—descendants [sic] of the pilgrims of Plymouth Rock, submit to be *governed* and *trodden* upon by blear-eyed, whisky-bloated debauchees. . .[92]

All the moral and regionalistic passions of Mrs. Lovejoy's readers seem appealed to in that letter. The passage indicts those in Kansas and in Washington, who drink, support slavery and trample the rights of Free-staters. It projects an air of righteousness and readiness for military resistance that is very strong, indeed. In Mrs. Lovejoy's

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hands, the Free-state cause assumes the status of a religiously-approved crusade, and she imagines Free-state women to be ready to emulate St. Joan of Arc to press its holy demands.

Far milder in tone and spirit seem the letters of Charles B. Lines to the New Haven Daily Palladium. Lines, whose extraordinary words on religion and civilization were presented at the end of the previous chapter, was a member of the "Beecher Bible" colony that arrived in Kansas in the spring of 1856. He was a cabinet-maker and undertaker in New Haven before coming to Kansas. It was he who organized the colony-group in Connecticut. Throughout his letters, Lines projects a moderate Free-state view, and he seems open to hear Missourians who, he said, had the idea firmly fixed in their minds that many Free-staters were simply paid temporary agents of anti-slavery forces in New England.[93] In conversation with several Missourians on the steamboat to Kansas City from St. Louis, Lines assured them that he, personally, had more confidence in "Plows and Bibles," than he did in "Rifles and Revolvers."[94] Yet Lines' resoluteness in working for and defending the Free-state cause is clear; in a letter written soon after arriving at the colony's permanent site, he writes:

> Of one thing be assured. KANSAS WILL BE FREE, unless the mistakes and imprudences of her friends prevent it, which is not probable. May we have all wisdom according to our necessities, be patient under trials and truly desire to make the worst of our lives for the good of mankind and the glory of God.[95]

The Congregationalist layman expressed in his letters a great trust in God and a certain calm which was missing from the letters of Julia Lovejoy. And yet, he was quite aware of the political issues of

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his day, and managed more than once to express the hopes of the Christian Free-staters in strong political terms, as this excerpt from a letter of May, 1856 shows:

> There probably will be no permanent peace until after the Presidential election, *and not then if the pro-slavery democracy are successful. It is quite clear that we are to have slavery established here if it is in the power of Missouri, aided by government officials, to accomplish this object.* [ital, sic] Whether in the Providence of God this is to be permitted, He who controls all events, alone knows. To Him we must commit our case, with confiding trust. This is our only safe reliance--our only ray of hope.[96]

During that same May, the "sack of Lawrence," took place, and Lines was one of many Kansas correspondents who sent reports back to the eastern newspapers describing the attack on the major Free-state city. Lines closed his description of the attack on the city with an appeal for more eastern settlers to come to Kansas territory: "Let the people come then, promptly, fearlessly, and resolved to [settle], and all difficulties will ultimately vanish--Jehovah will triumph and the people will be free."[97] A further example of Lines' synthesis of political Free-statism and Christian faith is included in a June, 1856 letter to the New Haven paper, written immediately after a visit to Lawrence:

> . . . it is hard to believe that we live in the country for whose liberty Washington and his compatriots fought, and martyrs among them bled and died. The only comfort in this case must be found in resorting to the foundation of our faith, where we find the assurance that God can cause the wrath of man to praise him.[98]

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Like Gilpatrick, Lines sees fit to mention the depredations of pro-slavery men against the Free-state settlers, without mentioning the similar Free-state actions. In a bit of sensational reporting, Lines retells a story that one band of guerillas, led by pro-slavery territorial congressman, J.W. Whitfield, were "extending their robberies so far as to take ladies' rings from their ears."[99] And yet, on the side of moderation, Lines reports that most Missourians with whom he spoke deplored the actions of the guerillas. And further in this vein, Lines says that "Kansas Aid" money would be best used to bring "actual settlers," to the territory: " . . . To raise money for the support of an army is to engage in civil war, which does not yet seem expedient or right."[100] Despite the qualification implied in the word "yet", Lines seems to genuinely want Free-staters to out-vote, rather than shoot their political opposites in Kansas territory. His New Haven readers could gather a picture from him that was similar to others' in his sense of the divine blessing on the Free-state cause, but with the qualifications of a man who strongly disapproved of the excesses of the bloody summer of '56. Lines was a serious Christian, and saw his party's goals in Christian terms, but not without a critical eye.

Rev. John H. Byrd, a Congregationalist who settled in Leavenworth in June, 1855, was an occasional special correspondent for Horace Greeley's Tribune. His later colleague in Lawrence, Richard Cordley, recalled in a reminiscence that Byrd's anti-slavery views and his role of correspondent placed him in ridicule in one instance, and danger in another. Byrd first preached in Leavenworth ("under a tree"). He attracted a hostile crowd of onlookers in the pro-slavery center; a woman described by

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Cordley as the "wife of a Presbyterian minister," presumably Southern Presbyterian, offered eggs to the crowd to throw at Byrd. A more dangerous incident took place a year later when one of his Tribune letters fell out of his pocket and was picked up by a pro-slavery man; in the uproar that followed, a lawyer physically attacked Byrd and if he had not been pulled off the minister, was remembered as ready to gouge his eyes out. The man was restrained, but only because the Kickapoo Rangers, a pro-slavery para-military group, intervened and took Byrd to the federal prison camp at Lecompton. He was released after a few weeks, but could not return to his family in Leavenworth for several weeks after that because of expected danger to his life.[101]

William A. Cardwell was a United Brethren missionary in Kansas who came there from Indiana. Among his other accomplishments was preaching in 1858 at a camp meeting which added 96 members to his denomination.[102] In an 1856 letter to the national Brethren journal, the Religious Telescope, Cardwell asked the paper to send twenty-one subscriptions, demonstrating his political interests were as lively as his religious ones. Cardwell told the editor that he was using the publication as anti-slavery material and was attempting to get it into pro-slavery homes.[103] Telescope readers would have been impressed with Cardwell's appeal as they had been previously apprised of the fortunes of the Free-state cause by United Brethren minister, S.S. Snyder of Lawrence. In a July, 1856 letter, Snyder had reported that in those violent days, Free-state men were daily found hung from trees or shot to death.[104]

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C. Books, Speeches and Campaigns

That the north responded so sympathetically to the Free-state movement and the cause of anti-slavery in the territory is in large measure due to a well-orchestrated campaign which drew financial and other kinds of support from a wide spectrum of persons living in the states. Northern Protestants would be involved at all points. They helped plan the campaigns, they wrote appeals and delivered speeches, and they contributed money, clothing and arms, as well as such things as books for libraries. Protestant Free-staters within the territory would figure in the campaigns for support privately in their correspondence with friends and relatives, and, publicly, in the persons of those clerics and lay persons who published, gave speeches in the eastern states or otherwise made contact with people who could aid the Free-staters in one way or another. One of the important ways the Free-state view of the Kansas struggle was publicized in the eastern states was through books by eyewitnesses. Two of those were by Sara Robinson and John McNamara.

Probably no such book was more important than Mrs. Charles Robinson's, Kansas: Its Interior & Exterior Life.[105] The 1856 volume went through six editions, and was even reviewed in London.[106] The book was unquestionably topical, coming, as it did, on the heels of the bloody spring and summer of 1856 in Kansas Territory. That the author's husband was, at the time of the book's writing, still in a federal prison camp heightened the poignancy of Mrs. Robinson's descriptions. She wrote, in her preface:

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> This work, now offered to the public, has been written amid all the inconveniences of tent life. Its pages were penned during a three months' residence of the authoress in the United States Camp, at Lecompton, with her husband, one of the state prisoners.[107]

The book described almost two years in the territory, and was written in diary fashion, with added commentary by Mrs. Robinson. Like Samuel Lum, Julia Lovejoy, James Gilpatrick and other northern Protestants, Sara Robinson exalts the membership of the Free-state movement and their cause, while castigating its enemies both on the territorial and national level. Her language describing political enemies is strong. For example, Illinois Senator Stephen A. Douglas is called the "Benedict Arnold of the age," for his Kansas-Nebraska Bill.[108] The Pierce administration comes off, at Mrs. Robinson's hands, like a creature in a biblical apocalypse:

> [God will give] us courage to act when the hour calls for action, and faith to wait when endurance is our cross. We in Kansas can see with clear vision the workings of this hydra-headed monster, whose seat is at Washington, and whose power emanates therefrom, and whose unholy name is Human Slavery.[109]

Mrs. Robinson's service to the Free-state movement through her book was to reinforce the conviction that must have been growing among her northern fellow-citizens that something very wrong was happening in the territory. To read her book is to get the impression, indeed the conviction, that at stake in the Kansas struggle were moral right, democratic principles, northern power and beloved institutions like church, school, home and family--and that the Free-staters stood like a fragile bulwark against those who would destroy all of these things. Invoked in the name of the Free-state cause were the biblical writers and characters, the Pilgrim Fathers, and the heroes of the American Revolution. This Unitarian laywoman also frequently interjected a romantic, if not sentimental religious observation. All together, the book made a powerful picture.

In describing the physical beauty of the territory, Sara Robinson tied her reflection to the issue of slavery:

> The clanking of chains was never to create a discord in that harmony, where the wild bird sent forth its gushing lay for freedom, where the whispering breezes through the leafy wood caught up the music, echoing it amide the quivering leaves, and where all nature sang a continual song for freedom.[110]

Describing two southerners who visited her home, Mrs. Robinson was moved to make this comment: "Very many of this class of people are looking to Kansas for a home--a home free from the curse, the blighting mildew of slavery, with genial climate, and the intercourse of enlightened, refined people surrounded by the institutions of free labor."[111] In one particularly ringing passage, Mrs. Robinson added her remarks to those her husband made at the July 4, 1855, celebration described previously:

> At this time, when Freedom is but a name; when three millions of human beings, created in the divine image, are sold as chattels in a country boasting of liberty; when the two hundred thousand slaveholders are using every endeavor to enslave the twenty-five millions of our countrymen, and we in Kansas already feel the iron hand of the oppressor, making us truly white slaves, --we will celebrate it by a new Declaration of our Independence, and in the God our fathers trust that he will lead us safely through this Red Sea of evil, until we plant our feet securely on freedom's bulwarks, having passed from this worse than Egyptian bondage.[112]

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In the midst of the Lawrence crisis of December, 1855, Mrs. Robinson wrote about the age of many of Lawrence's defenders:

> There is young manhood in the ranks, and some who have not yet counted their score of years; but the mantle of discretion and prudence has fallen upon them. The blood of '76 runs in their veins, and the fires of its unquenched love of liberty sparkle in their eyes. We are yet in the hollow of His hand who "hates the oppressor," and "the crooked ways before us He will make straight."[113]

Six months later, in the aftermath of the second Lawrence crisis that saw several buildings destroyed and the violence flare up all over the territory, Sara Robinson again sounded a biblical note of judgment: "Lawrence was destroyed; and the president bears the signal honor. Crown his brows with asphodel and wormwood, ye American people, for he has wrought for your fellow-countrymen bitterness and woe!"[114]

The subjects of Robinson's book, were also treated in several other publications about the Kansas struggle.[115] Yet her book stands out as one of the stronger Free-state statements in print, and the frequent allusions to a Christian framework against which she judges the political and other events she describes probably contributed to the book's popularity. It was both a powerful indictment and a call to action, certainly an important part of the effort by Free-state northern Protestants to legitimize their movement and gain support for it. It identified the good and the evil clearly, and offered testimony supporting the identification.

John McNamara's Three Years on the Kansas Border contrasted with Mrs. Robinson's book by its moderate tone, but was nonetheless good grist for the Free-state propaganda mill. The book, published in 1856, provided the incidents in McNamara's brief missionary career in Kansas Territory cited previously. As a whole, the book's tone well matches McNamara's description of his own political stance while in Kansas; he described himself as Free-state in politics, but "not a disturber."[116] The book calmly, but effectively portrays the Missourians on the pro-slavery side of the Kansas struggle as intensely anti-northerner, and, at least in part, quite ready for violence against "abolitionists," that is, anyone who did not approve of the institution of slavery.[117] McNamara's descriptions of the hardships and threats he endured while in the territory made the work an effective presentation of the Free-state perspective on events in the territory; that McNamara was a northern Protestant clergyman undergoing these trials would make a strong impression on his northern Protestant readers.

D. Results

The missionaries' letters, newspaper correspondence from Kansas, and published works like Mrs. Robinson's and Rev. McNamara's became part of the stream of information and interpretation which helped raise the north to support for Kansas Free-staters. On the part of the Christians who contributed to this propaganda, a consistent and clear, if simple, platform was erected which was based on biblical language, moral customs and institutions, missionary ideology and regional prejudice to state the Free-state case. The success of the propaganda may be judged by its impact in the eastern states.

The first major campaign to aid the Free-state cause was undertaken by the New England Emigrant Aid Company, whose circular letter was one of the opening paradigms of this chapter. That letter, presumably read by all New England Protestant clergy and many of their flock, provided the occasion for many churches to have discussions about the Kansas situation as it stood in July and August of 1855. The First Church of Worcester, Massachusetts, for example, sent 779 three-cent pieces, or "bits," representing every man, woman and child in the congregation on the day the appeal was made. "Thus do the people of my Society respond to your appeal in behalf of Temperance, Freedom and Religion in Kansas . . ."[118] To achieve so high a rate of participation, the congregation's consciousness of the Free-state fortunes in Kansas must have been fairly high, a fact partly attributable to the northern Protestants in Kansas territory who had told of their situation in one or other of the ways described in earlier sections.

More impressive in amount than the small gift of the Worcester congregation was the combined Kansas Aid fund. In 1855 and 1856, Kansas Aid Committees were organized in many parts of the northern states to collect money, clothing, and occasionally arms for Kansas settlers or those about to emigrate to that territory. A total of at least $250,000.00 is reported to have been collected by local committees, the Grand Kansas Aid Society, the New York Tribune Kansas fund and other aid groups.[119] Barrels of clothing and books were sent, and were distributed along with occasional monetary relief on the local scene by ministers like Nute and Lovejoy.[120] Those who gave even in a small way, involved themselves personally in the Free-state cause.[121] To contribute something, however slight, to the Free-staters was to become personally committed to the cause in a way that, among other things, would have important political impact in the 1856 and 1860 elections. Thousands came to have a stake in the outcome of the Kansas struggle, and "bleeding" Kansas became an object of deep concern.

Part of this popular concern of northerners was reflected in the political arena. "Fremont and Free Kansas," became one Republican rallying cry in the 1856 election.[122] Massachusetts and Vermont legislatures voted appropriations out of state funds for Free-staters.[123] In December of 1856, the Iowa House of Representatives passed a resolution in favor of the admission of Kansas as a free state.[124] Governor Chase of Ohio and Governor Hamlin of Maine, both Republicans elected in the 1856 election, threatened to intervene in unspecified ways, presumably militarily, if outrages upon former citizens of their states now living in Kansas continued.[125] In a political speech in June, 1857, Abraham Lincoln, a member of the National Kansas Committee, made the following statement on Kansas:

> Nothing but bold, wicked despotism has ruled or reigned there since it was organized into a Territory . . . Look, Douglas, see yonder people fleeing—see the full columns of brave men stopped—see the press & the type fly into the river—and tell me what does this! It is your Squatter Sovereignty! [Let slavery spread over the territories and] God will sweep us with a brush of fire from this solid globe.[126]

What is different about the missionary enterprise in Kansas Territory undertaken by northern Protestants is that perhaps no other similar situation involved what has been charted in this chapter; that is, a significant group among northern Protestants became directly involved in and identified with an established political movement and party, the Free-state movement. These northern Christians voted, organized, wrote, and occasionally fought for a group which they saw to be a vehicle for their deepest moral and religious convictions. On the basis of those convictions, they appealed to their fellow northerners in the territory and stateside to come to their aid in several different ways. They and their cause became a focus of hope and anger and political activity for many of the persons they appealed to. The movement and party they had struggled to maintain in the face of strong opposition in fact did come to power in Kansas Territory. Free-staters went from being dissidents to being, by 1859, the majority force in the territory's government and in its social and political leadership. As will become clear in Chapter Five, the Free-state victory was at least ambiguous when measured against the rhetoric used to support it, especially when viewed from the "bottom up,"—that is, from the point of view of the poor white, the black man and the Indian in the territory. That the active northern Protestants of this study were able to vigorously support the Free-state movement, and for the most part, assiduously avoid the problems caused those harmed by that movement's leaders is little different from other instances in history of religio-social interaction. In this particular case, it is noteworthy that so clear and ready a cluster of theological visions and churchly hopes worked together for a political movement and its party. Two ways of understanding this process, theological and sociological, form the subject of the next chapter.

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NOTES

[1] Quoted in: Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform, p. 205.

[2] "Circular of the Committee of Clergymen: Education, Temperance, Freedom, Religion in Kansas;" reprinted in: KSHS Coll., vols. 1-2, pp. 193-194. The "Ministers Memorial," referred to was the petition against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill signed by 3,050 New England clergymen. Cf. Nevins, Ordeal of the Union, vol. 2, p. 129.

[3] Charles R. Denton, American Unitarians, 1830-1865, pp. 112-113.

[4] Ibid., p. 113. They also gave Nute two hundred dollars from their own pockets for his church building, presumably no small amount from ministers.

[5] Quoted in: "Letters of Julia Lovejoy," KHQ, vol. 15, p. 383.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Hon. B.F. Simpson, "The Wyandotte Constitutional Convention," KSHS Coll., vol. 1-2, p. 241.

[8] A Reprint of the Proceedings and Debates of the Convention Which Framed the Constitution of Kansas at Wyandotte in July, 1859. Also, the Constitution Annotated to Date, Historical Sketches, Etc. By Authority of the State Legislature (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1920), p. 23.

[9] Cf. the various histories of the territorial period cited in reference 9, Chapter One, for accounts of the rise and victories of the Free-state movement. A revisionist account of the origins of the Free-state movement, seeing it as an alliance of the minority of New England Free-staters and the majority of western Free-staters, is: James C. Malin, "The Topeka Statehood Movement Reconsidered: Origins," Territorial Kansas, pp. 33-69.

[10] Herald of Freedom, January 6, 1855, p. 2.

[11] Ibid., February 3, 1855, p. 3. Also, February 10, 1855, p. 2.

[12] Two studies by James Malin discuss immigration patterns to Lawrence in the first year of territorial settlement: "Emergency Housing at Lawrence, 1854;" and, "Housing Experiments in Lawrence, 1855," KHQ, vol. 21, pp. 34-49, 95-121.

[13] On the election of the so-called "Bogus Legislature," cf. Alice Nichols, Bleeding Kansas (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), Chapters Fifteen through Twenty-two.

[14] Herald of Freedom, August 18, 1855, p. 2.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., September 8, 1855, p. 2.

[21] Ibid., October 27, 1855, p. 2.

[22] Wilder, Annals, pp. 73-75.

[23] Ibid., pp. 87-88.

[24] Ibid., pp. 108-109.

[25] On the "Bleeding Kansas," period of May through September, 1856, cf. Nichols, op. cit., Chapters Fifteen through Twenty-two.

[26] Denton, art. cit., p. 334.

[27] Ibid., p. 333.

[28] Ibid., p. 334.

[29] Denton, art. cit., pp. 465-466.

[30] Ibid., p. 467.

[31] Ibid., p. 470.

[32] Rev. John E. Stewart, "Notes of a Southern Tour," Herald of Freedom, February 2, 1856, p. 3.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Journal of Investigation, National Kansas Committee, November 28, 1856. In possession of the KSHS, mss. division. The National Kansas Committee was an aid group formed for the protection and support of Free-staters. A team investigating the "Bleeding Kansas," months took testimony from settlers in the fall of 1856.

[36] Ibid. It is not known if Stewart fulfilled this vow.

[37] Ibid. Two years later the pro-slavery Ft. Scott Democrat reported that Stewart was still riding in an anti-southern guerilla band, but now he rode as a horse-thief in its view. True or not, Stewart was deeply involved in the politics and violence of his day. Cf. Wilder, Annals, p. 238.

[38] "Governor Denver's Administration," KSHS Coll., vol. 5, pp. 473, 492, 500.

[39] Letter from Charles Mendenhall to George W. Martin, secretary, Kansas State Historical Society, March 24, 1902. Mendenhall Papers, mss. division, KSHS.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid., "Reminiscence of Nathan Henshaw," Lawrence, Kansas.

[42] Richard Cordley, "Memorial on Timothy Dwight Thacher," KSHS Coll., vol. 6, p. 84. Thacher had intended to enter the ministry, but was persuaded by his college president, the well-known clergyman, Rev. Eliphalet Nott, to publich a newspaper in Kansas Territory. Nott reportedly told the young Thacher, "Go, my son. You may do more good there in a few years than you can do here in a lifetime." (p. 84.)

[43] Ibid., p. 84.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid., p. 85.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Selected Records of the First Congregational Church of Topeka (1855-1927). From originals loaned by the church; microfilm of a notebook, K.S.H.S. Entries for 1855.

[48] Ibid., Entries for 1858.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ephraim Nute, "The Unitarian Church," Lawrence Journal Tribune, December 25, 1890. Cited by Denton, art. cit., p. 478.

[51] "Letters of Julia Louisa Lovejoy," KHQ, vol. 15, pp. 60-61.

[52] Cf. Wilder and other sources which list still other clergymen involved in the Free-state movement. Wilder mentions the following: Rev. S.S. Snyder, first chairman of the inaugural Free-state meeting in Lawrence, held in February of 1855 (p. 55); as a House member of the Topeka movement "legislature" in 1857 (p. 174); and as a territorial legislator elected in the Free-state victory of October, 1857 (p. 192); Henry Harvey, a Friends missionary to the Indians, who was a delegate to the Big Springs convention (p. 78); AHMS Presbyterian, Rev. Paul Shepherd, Chaplain of the Topeka Constitution Senate in 1856 (p. 113); Rev. Charles Lovejoy, Chaplain of the Topeka Constitution House in 1856, and also Chaplain of the House in the territorial legislature in December, 1857 (p. 114); AHMS missionary, Rev. Harvey Jones, pastor of the Wabaunsee "Beecher Bible" church and member of the Free-state convention held in Topeka in March, 1857 (p. 157). Four other clerical members of that same 1857 convention were: Rev. Charles E. Blood (elsewhere noted as very active in Free-state party matters and in its highest councils; cf. Herald of Freedom, August 18, 1855); Lutheran J.B. McAfee; Baptist James Gilpatrick; and Unitarian, Rev. W.R. Griffith (p. 157). Rev. Joseph Denison, Methodist missionary, was part of the Manhattan delegation to the Free-state meeting in Lawrence, August 14-15, 1855, noted in: Isaac Goodnow, "Personal Reminiscences and Kansas Emigration, 1855," KSHS Coll., vol. 4, p. 251. John M. Walden, later a bishop, was a newspaper editor at Quindaro at this time, active also in organizing for the Republican party and against the Lecompton Constitution, noted in: Richard J. Hinton, "Pens That Made Kansas Free," KSHS Coll., vol. 6, p. 373. Rev. Hugh Huston was a United Brethren preacher, a Free-state supporter and mediator of a prisoner exchange in the 1856 troubles, noted in: "Incidents in the Life of A Well-Known Citizen," KSHS Coll., vol. 16, pp. 625-626. AHMS missionary, Rev. Lewis Bodwell of Topeka was a Free-state supporter and in-territory advisor to the "Andover Band" of Massachusetts seminarians who joined to help evangelize and win no-slavery for Kansas; cf. Russell K. Hickman, "Lewis Bodwell, Frontier Preacher," KHQ, vol. 12, pp. 269-299, 349-365.

[53] Goode, Outposts of Zion, pp. 255-256.

[54] Ibid., p. 255.

[55] Ibid., p. 256.

[56] "Letters of the New Haven Connecticut Kansas Colony," KHQ, vol. 22, p. 20.

[57] "Letters of S.Y. Lum," KHQ, vol. 25, p. 192.

[58] Harry Jasper Harris, "My Story," KSHS Coll., vol. 15, p. 557.

[59] Herald of Freedom, March 8, 1856, p. 3.

[60] Ibid.

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[61] Quoted in: Lindquist, art. cit., p. 413.

[62] Herald of Freedom, March 10, 1855, p. 3.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid., March 24, 1855, p. 3.

[65] Robinson, op. cit., p. 70.

[66] Ibid., p. 138.

[67] Ibid.

[68] H.A. Ott, A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Kansas, pp. 10-15.

[69] Cf. Freedom's Champion (Atchison, K.T.), April 3, 1858, p. 1. Also, Harrell, art. cit., pp. 388-392.

[70] Cited in: Cook, Seedtime and Harvest. Part One. p. 7.

[71] McNamara, op. cit., pp. 59, 205.

[72] Ibid., pp. 33-37, 59.

[73] Ibid., p. 205.

[74] "Letters of S.Y. Lum," KHQ, vol. 25, pp. 66-67.

[75] "Letters of the New Haven Connecticut Kansas Colony," KHQ, vol. 22, p. 174.

[76] Badger's editing is clear in the manuscripts of the letters: AHMS Papers, Kansas.

[77] "Letters of S.Y. Lum," KHQ, vol. 25, p. 42.

[78] Ibid., p. 55.

[79] Ibid., pp. 176-177.

[80] Ibid., p. 193.

[81] Gilpatrick Papers, KSHS.

[82] Ibid., letter of March 31, 1855.

[83] Ibid., letter of July 31, 1853.

[84] Ibid., letter of December 14, 1855.

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[85] *Ibid.*, letter of August 31, 1856.

[86] Greeley's *Tribune* correspondents are described, lyrically, in: Richard J. Hinton, "Pens That Made Kansas Free," cited above.

[87] Biographical notes are taken from: "Letters of J.L. Lovejoy," *KHQ*, vol. 15, p. 127.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 129. The newspapers were: *The Independent Democrat* (Concord, New Hampshire); *Granite State Whig* (Lebanon, New Hampshire); *Zion's Herald* (Boston); *Central Christian Advocate* (St. Louis); and the *Christian Messenger* (Montpelier, Vermont).

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 278-279.

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 280.

[92] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

[93] "Letters of the New Haven Connecticut Kansas Colony," *KHQ*, vol. 22, pp. 8-9.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 141.

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

[100] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

[101] Richard Cordley, *Congregationalism in Kansas*. Pamphlet: Reprint from *The Congregational Quarterly*, July, 1876. (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, Printers, 1876), p. 91.

[102] Cook, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[104] *Ibid.*

[105] Robinson, *op. cit.*

[106] Wilder, *Annals*, p. 141.

[107] Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

[108] Ibid., p. 7.

[109] Ibid., p. 44.

[110] Ibid., p. 6.

[111] Ibid., p. 49.

[112] Ibid., p. 69.

[113] Ibid., p. 129.

[114] Ibid., p. 248.

[115] For example, these works are listed in Wilder's Annals: Brewerton, The War in Kansas, 1856 (pp. 112-113); William Phillips, The Conquest of Kansas, By Missouri and Her Allies, 1856 (p. 130); T.H. Gladstone, The Englishman in Kansas; or Squatter Life & Border Warfare, 1857 (p. 162); and the anti-slavery tract by T.W. Higginson, A Ride Through Kansas, 1856 (p. 141).

[116] McNamara, op. cit., p. 201.

[117] Ibid., pp. 5, 54, 77, 109, 155ff.

[118] "Letters of New England Clergymen," KSHS Coll., vol. 1-2, pp. 199-200.

[119] Wilder, Annals, pp. 125, 128, 151.

[120] "Letters of J.L. Lovejoy," KHQ, vol. 15, p. 286.

[121] For example, Lydia Maria Child, well-known feminist and abolitionist from Wayland, Massachusetts, organized her neighbors to send a box of clothing simply addressed to, "the women of Kansas." Wilder, Annals, p. 142.

[122] Ibid., p. 125.

[123] Ibid., pp. 140, 161, 168. The Vermont gift was refused by the moderate territorial governor Geary; he said it was not needed. The Massachusetts appropriation was vetoed by Governor Gardner of that state.

[124] Ibid., p. 145.

[125] Ibid., p. 148.

[126] Ibid., p. 170.

CHAPTER FOUR

SEVERAL VISIONS, ONE HOPE

The northern Protestants surveyed in this study have been of diverse theological views and differing ecclesiastical styles. The restrained Congregationalism of Samuel Lum certainly contrasts sharply with the reform-minded Unitarianism of Ephraim Nute. Methodist local classes and revivalism represented a different way of being the church than the low-key evangelism of Episcopalian John McNamara. Julia Lovejoy, Richard Mendenhall and Dwight Thacher may each be called northern Protestant, but a failure to recognise their genuine theological differences would, historically speaking, be doing them a disservice. Denominational competition in the territory was sometimes sharp, and occasionally bitter; theological snobbery was present in the reports of several missionaries.[1] But despite each denomination's tendency to further its particular interests, one finds a remarkable consistency and complimentarity of broad social and political goals among those northern Protestants active in the Free-state movement. This unity does not simply reflect northern regionalism. Along with regionalism, or perhaps at its heart, a deeper theological current runs through the words of these churchmen, one which transcended whatever other theological differences were present.

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The purpose of this chapter is to provide a broad framework in which the words and behavior of these northern Protestants may be understood. The first part of the chapter is a discussion of converging themes in the denominational theologies of the churchmen, recalling especially how their Calvinist heritage had become, in part, focused upon a hope for a civilization of northern Protestant contours. From this it becomes possible to extend a theme discussed in Chapter One, that of legitimation. I maintain that as these northern Protestants passed on their common hope to their constituencies, including the hope for the success of the Free-state movement, the process had significant impact on the society emerging in Kansas Territory. Because these churchmen held important social roles such as pastor, editor, newspaper correspondent, and political leader in local and Free-state government, their words for or against something counted very much. Understanding their thought and behavior in terms of common theological themes and a common social role of legitimation provides one with an understanding of the worldview of these churchmen and some of the ways in which this worldview bore on the territorial society.

I. Converging Theological Themes

Northern Protestantism in the middle of the nineteenth century exhibited lines of convergence, both theological and socio-political. Sidney Ahlstrom has called the whole phenomenon "New Schoolism":

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> As expounded by various Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist theologians, "New Schoolism" became, in effect, the ecumenical theology of nonsectarian revivalism, the Sunday School movement, foreign and domestic missions, and a wide array of organized reform activities, notably the temperance crusade. One can almost speak of it as the theology of American Evangelical Protestantism during its nineteenth-century hey-day.[2]

Ahlstrom continues his description by listing what he finds to be the common theological themes: a frank Arminianism, a vigorous emphasis on conversion and personal holiness, and a definition of the good life that was "immensely moralistic." Furthermore, this theology was "strong in millenial flavor, determined to make a model of America's Protestant democracy, and belligerently suspicious of Roman Catholicism . . ."[3]

Timothy L. Smith finds many of the same lines of convergence that Ahlstrom does, although he more carefully distinguishes some differences in theological themes from denomination to denomination. He maintains that revival measures and perfectionism were the common marks of a majority of American Protestants in the mid-nineteenth-century. For Smith, the quest for personal holiness so important to these mainstream evangelicals "geared ancient creeds to the driveshaft of social reform," helping thus to "prepare the way both in theory and practice for what later became known as the social gospel."[4] The northern American Protestants of this period moved toward an ever more politicized understanding of what H. Richard Niebuhr called the reign of Christ motif of evangelical theology. Horace Bushnell's 1847 call for a "complete Christian commonwealth," would find many respondents ready to build such a society.[5]

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And yet there were differences among the churchmen of the period. Robert T. Handy observes that for the churches as churches, "the religious issues were of greatest importance, as they involved the eternal destinies of men, and in conducting their own households of faith, they put such matters first."[6] Having strengthened their own particular church, Handy states, then they were free to join with "brother evangelicals to preserve the common Christian civilization."[7] In Kansas Territory, as in the nation as a whole, churchmen combined vigorous work for their particular denomination with a joint endeavor with other Protestants to shape a society that would bring their common hope to fulfillment. Examining some of the denominational theologies operative in northern Protestantism illuminates some of the differences as well as the similarities of behavior of the churchmen of this study.

Methodism in the 1850's was experiencing a period of great growth and theological ferment. The increasingly dominant theological note was perfectionism, the doctrine that after initial conversion, the Christian might expect a second blessing of living a life perfect in service of the Lord and service to one's neighbor.[8] This "new" theme (it actually represented the recovery of a strong current in John Wesley's theology) was a powerful addition to the attractiveness of Methodism for many Americans. That denomination's Arminianism had already sparked powerful revivals, a strong ministry and hierarchy who strove to be close to their people, and a laity unusually active in the concerns of their church. The new doctrine added further to this appeal.

The northern Methodists presented in previous chapters well reflect the dominant trends in their church nationally. William Goode's grand vision of Kansas as a mighty empire of thousands of souls to be won to Christ serves as indication of the breadth of the Methodist vision--no less than a position of Methodist numerical dominance could satisfy the vision's demands. The politicization of the doctrine of perfectionism called for by Daniel Wise, editor of Zion's Herald, found practical and sustained expression in the political work of Charles and Julia Lovejoy, John Stewart, Isaac Goodnow and Abraham Still, among others. Free-statism, temperance, public education and Methodist higher education were works of reform and civilization that accompanied the building of northern Methodism in the new territory. Through classes, congregations and revivals, Kansas' northern Methodists became the largest denomination, and their energies were further spent on attempting to shape the kind of society Kansas would become.[9]

Congregationalism in the mid-nineteenth century had assimilated a modified Arminianism that was rooted theologically in the thought of such theologians as Nathaniel Taylor and experimentally in the increasing approval given to revivalism since the 1830's. While Congregationalists at this time carried on a sustained critique of Methodist and western revivals and a critique of uneducated ministers and lay leaders presuming to interpret theology, their own theological currents moved them closer to the doctrines of free grace and the universal call to salvation offered through Christ. Oberlin perfectionism, that near-Wesleyan doctrine of holy living and perfect hope (vs. perfect sinlessness), was another strong theological current in Congregationalism. Horace Bushnell's

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maverick theology, a lesser current at this time, seemingly rebuked programmatic revivalism and optimistic perfectionism, substituting a quieter, more organic Christian development. Yet Bushnell's own "third conversion", in his interest of personal holiness, his millennial hope for a complete Christian commonwealth and his encouragement in his parish of "seasons of special religious interest" and young people's prayer meetings are not far from the doctrines and concerns of the evangelical mainstream. The number of Congregationalists at this time did not expand as dramatically as did the number of Methodists. But lines of convergence with other Protestants of the evangelical mainstream may be seen in Congregationalism's revivalism, its concern for moral reform, and in its interest in civilisation.

Politically active Congregationalists in Kansas Territory reflect their denomination's particular emphases and also the reform-civilisation-Free Statism cluster of visions and hopes that characterised other northern Protestants examined in this study. It is well to recall the words of the Kansas General Association in 1857 that indicate the special place the New England background held in the consciousness of Congregationalists in the territory:

> It shall be our aim, as far as practicable,
> to transplant the principles and institutions
> of the Puritans to these fertile plains, and
> to lay foundations which shall be an honor
> to us, when in the grave, and a blessing to
> all coming generations.[11]

The Congregational (and A.H.M.S.) pattern of slow, steady growth in frontier settings was generally repeated in Kansas. Kansas Congregational pastors and their congregations in such places as Lawrence, Topeka,

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Manhattan, and Waubaunsee tended to be settled; aggressive drives to increase membership did not take place until 1859 when four revivals, at Waubaunsee, Burlingame, Manhattan and Emporia are noted by the General Association.[12] To judge by the lateness of revivals, it is fair to say that Kansas Congregationalists placed more emphasis on building the local congregation through adding persons who were church members in the eastern states, and hoping to attract others indirectly through worship services and Sabbath schools.[13] Anti-Methodism was a current of Congregationalism in the territory, but there was also a partial thaw taking place simultaneously between the two denominations.[14] Specifically, Congregational ideas and practices seemed to be modified as the territorial years went on, and the already-present lines of convergence with other denominations became more marked.

What the Congregationalists of this study shared with fellow northern Protestants was the hope of building a particular kind of civilization in Kansas, a hope made more powerful by the denomination's New England roots. Their work for education, temperance and a prosperous, stable society found frequent mention in their reports and letters. The hope also found expression in the active Free-statism of men like Lum, Bodwell, the Andover Band, Samuel Pomeroy, Charles Lines and Dwight Thacher. Their less dramatic and perhaps less energetic style of evangelization precluded a membership growth such as that of the Methodists, but these churchmen made up in influence what they lacked in numbers. A full membership of 609 Kansans in 1860 was respectable, however, and the high social and political positions of some Congregational leaders insured an impact on the emerging society.[15] Kansas Congregationalists shared enough in the evangelical mainstream's vision of civilization, both in its theological and political content, to permit a strong working relationship with their fellow northern Protestants in Kansas.

New School Presbyterianism, like its theological cousin, revival-minded Congregationalism, had moved far from the Calvinist doctrine of election by the middle of the century.[16] In its support of national mission and reform organizations, as well as in its anti-slavery tendencies, this Presbyterian group, too, shared in the dominant reform and civilizing issues that interested so much of the northern evangelical mainstream. Rev. Paul Shepherd, Presbyterian missionary for the A.H.M.S., had little hope of securing more than a foothold for his denomination in Kansas until he received co-workers. But his participation in Free-state politics and his public opposition to the Free-staters' wish for a "Black Law" to exclude Negroes from Kansas places Shepherd squarely in the ranks of those who were convinced that promoting Christianity and building a northern-style civilization were related tasks.[17] He was, indeed, even more radical a reformer than his colleagues in his application of the spirit of equality to black Kansans.

In the mid-1850's, northern Baptists (Regular Baptists) had virtually completed their own shift from strict Calvinism to a doctrine of free grace, and were beginning to endorse revival measures with enthusiasm. Baptist reform and missionary societies previous to this time experienced the suspicion of many brethren who regarded such societies as contrary to the work of divine grace. As Timothy Smith notes, support for these societies increased as the number of Baptist accessions through revivals grew.[18] But the late alliance with fellow northern Protestants on theological, social and political issues meant that Baptists did not have as ready a theological vocabulary to explain their actions as did Methodists and Congregationalists. Until the 1850's, the political millenialism of liberal Baptists like Albert Barnes was the theology of a minority in Baptist ranks.

James Gilpatrick, a northern Baptist examined in previous chapters, did not exhibit in his ministry his denomination's recent interest in revivals, largely because of illness, personal tragedy (the loss of his wife) and the strains of border warfare. But Gilpatrick did reflect a strong evangelical spirit in his initial exploratory journey in Kansas for his denomination, as well as his two-hundred mile circuit of five preaching stations for as long as his health remained good.[19] In his work for the Free-state movement, notably his ringing speech at its opening convention, and his continued work for temperance, Gilpatrick reflected his agreement with other northern Protestants of this study. But like many of his fellow Baptists, he hesitated to apply gospel and theological language directly to such goals as the victory of the Free-state movement. His language of support for Free-staters and his language of condemnation for pro-slavery men was exceptionally strong, but almost always secular. The closest he came to expressing a political view in theological terms was to say that God had willed his going to Kansas and had willed that he not desert his people now that they were "deprived of their rights."[20]

Unitarianism in this period was experiencing its own form of evangelicalism, at least partly in reaction to the theological radicalism of the Transcendentalists, especially Theodore Parker. Since evangelical orthodoxy had changed its views on Christian union and had rejected predestination, two of the greatest blocks to Unitarian sympathy for the faith of the evangelicals had been removed. The closeness of God, the Cross, the centrality of Jesus Christ, a morally transforming regeneration and a life of practical service all became themes for many Unitarian sermons and articles. Timothy Smith maintains that at least at this time, Unitarian interests in reform were more likely to spring from evangelical than transcendental Unitarianism.[21]

Ephraim Nute certainly reflects the ways of the evangelical pastor more than those of the liberal humanitarian. His delight in pastoral work coupled with his Free-state political activities, temperance work and interest in education illustrate that he too shared in the northern Protestant vision of civilization and, with the exception of Lum, even found easy fellowship with ministers of the evangelical persuasion in the city of Lawrence.[22] His theological convictions and pastoral appeal might have deeply worried Samuel Lum, but at least in Lawrence, Nute felt himself to be one of a group of northern Protestant ministers neither radically dissimilar in theological emphasis nor at odds with one another about social and political hopes.

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The Society of Friends at mid-nineteenth-century comprised two major groups, evangelical Friends and Hicksite Friends:

> The Society of Friends . . . more generally revealed a similar attachment to personal and evangelical faith. Under the leadership of the Englishman John Joseph Gurney and Elisha Bates of the Ohio Yearly Meeting, the Friends experienced a decided revival of faith in the atonement as the means of sanctification, in contrast to the Hicksite predication of the innate capacity of man for perfection of attainment. For a large majority of Quakers the Cross thus became more important than the "Inner Light," precisely because it was the source of grace by which the light might shine within.[23]

The evangelical Friends nationwide outnumbered the Hicksite Friends, and continued the Quaker tradition of "reform," that is, quiet witness to great truths. Generally speaking, Friends were anti-slavery, but true abolitionists were in a minority as gentle persuasion had become a norm for the social action with which Friends undertook.

Friends in Kansas Territory seemed to have been of the evangelical type almost without exception. William Coffin, a pioneer Quaker settler in the territory, in his account of Quaker fortunes during the territorial period, remembered instances where pro-slavery men had promised to stay away from the Stranger Creek Friends' settlements because they did not regard them as they did other Free-staters.[24] Richard Mendenhall, the Indian missionary and active Free-stater, was the major exception among his fellow Friends. Mendenhall's political work, for example announcing to a Free-state convention that he did not feel like being governed by such men as made up the "Bogus" Legislature, was not characteristic of his brethren. In his continued work for Free-statism, his leadership of

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an abolitionist caucus, his letters to eastern papers, and his acceptance of several minor political appointments, Mendenhall moved closer to the social and political visions of other northern Protestants in Kansas. The Hadley brothers, on the other hand, exhibit a Hicksite reformist strain of thought that was closer to liberal, transcendentalist reform than to the reform ideas of this study's northern Protestants.

While the roll of northern Protestants here cited is admittedly far from complete, it is sufficiently comprehensive to demonstrate that those who worked for the Free-state movement were immensely aided in their common work for a free and morally better Kansas by certain converging theological ideas. Among these were: the responsibility of the Christian to improve, and even perfect himself and his society; that the quest for personal holiness be encouraged by a society of sober habits and morals-strengthening institutions (especially the church itself); a conviction that the reign of Christ depended on the hands of human builders; and a very basic idea, that all men with God's help had the ability to turn to God--and by extension, the ability and duty to change the society around him into something more nearly representing the society over which God wished to reign (incidentally, yet another example of the vigor of the Genevan model among Calvin's heirs). All of the ideas underlay the vision of civilization which was common, in most details, across the broad range of the northern Protestants presented. A Free-state organizer like Charles Robinson or Samuel Pomeroy could hardly have hoped for better co-workers than the northern Protestants who were their allies. Taken as a whole, the group exhibited a consensus on social and political goals which was strengthened by the fact that Protestantism in the eastern states was increasingly characterized by convergent theological ideas.

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II. Worldview and Legitimation

Having established the convergence of their theological ideas, we can move to an understanding of how these northern Protestants functioned in their society. By what they did and what they said, these northern Protestants especially played the social role of interpreter. In their support of Free-statism and their vision of what kind of society Kansas ought to become, they told their constituencies, both in and outside the churches, what things meant, what things were worth working for, and what things were worth struggling against. They were certainly not the only persons filling such interpretative roles; but their high status, their association with political, social and economic leaders, and their own self-chosen role of analyst of the meaning of events in the territory made them among the most important interpreters on the Kansas scene. One of the ways to understand how they functioned is to see them as legitimators of the social order which emerged in Kansas Territory.

The idea of legitimation has been discussed in Chapter One. To recall some of its major elements, the following excerpt from Thomas Luckmann's, The Invisible Religion is helpful:

> Since the social order is apprehended as valid and obligatory . . . it can be understood as the manifestation of a transcendent and universal order, as a cosmion reflecting a cosmos. It may be added that the procedure by which a worldview is assigned the status of universality and the transcendence of the social order is explicitly articulated typically serves as a mechanism of great significance in the legitimation of an established social order.[25]

A worldview is the universe of meaning into which an individual is born, or rather, into which he is socialized. Historic social orders have at their foundation a configuration of meaning which is crucial for the formation of a society's members into "Selves."[26] Being historically prior to the individual self, and being internalized in the processes of socialization, the worldview "determines [man's] orientation in the world and exercises an influence upon his conduct that is as profound as it is taken for granted and, therefore, unnoticed."[27] As the worldview also is expressed through various institutions and social controls, the individual experiences it as an objective and historical (transcendent) as well as a subjective (immanent) reality.

The worldview common to most of the northern Protestants presented in this study would include the Christian story (expressed in different ways), an experience of northern society in the first half of the nineteenth century, and a vision of what a Christian civilization ought to look like. To follow Luckmann's analysis, these constituent parts of a worldivew would combine to function as a "symbolic universe," or an integrated array of interpretative categories through which the individual would judge his or her own experience. The persons operating in such a symbolic universe would not treat their judgments and perceptions as mere opinions, but rather would relate them, directly or by inference, to "a transcendent and universal order." In becoming socialized to such a symbolic universe of meaning, and in socializing others to it, they would hold that their social order itself was good, sharing in the transcendent nature of their symbolic universe, and would teach others to hold the same view. In the process of course, their social order would be strengthened.

Applying this to the Kansas situation as interpreted by this study's northern Protestants, the victory of Free-statism and the building of religious, educational and moral institutions in the midst of a potentially prosperous social order was not only good, but shared in the transcendent character of the Christian story and the Christian churches. These churchmen passed on their interpretation to others both inside and outside the territory who had a similar symbolic universe. Society as defined and eventually controlled by the same persons who led the Free-state movement received a strong approval from this alliance of Kansas' northern Protestants. These same churchmen were, for the most part, uncritical of the excesses, ambiguities, and injustices that were attributable to the Free-state movement or the political, social, or economic activities of its members.

The Christian doctrine that these northern Protestants held as one of the elements (for many, the most important) of their worldview had a transcendent character. For most of them, God had become man or at least manifest in Jesus Christ in a unique way. This tenet was central to world history for them and had a bearing on the eternal destiny of every person living. The church, preferably one's own denomination, proclaimed this to be truth and supported those who accepted it in maintaining and growing in the same conviction. Whatever judged as good or not condemned as evil in the light of this truth took on, to a greater or lesser extent, a real connection with the transcendence of the doctrine itself.

The second element in their worldview was a variety of experiences of northern culture, again interpreted (or at least in part) through the

Christian story. For many northern Kansans, northern culture was the most ordered, refined and moral culture they could imagine, the most nearly Christian society God and man had ever erected--at least in possibility if not yet actuality. That culture's own story, as told in mid-nineteenth century in the eastern states and in Kansas, used the biblical images and the images of the Puritan fathers, Plymouth Rock, the American Revolution, and the New England village as symbols of its roots and its hopes.

The third element of the worldview grew out of the second, that is, a picture of what a civilization in Kansas Territory should look like. Strong family life, institutions of education, ordered and peaceful communities, churches of the Protestant way and economic prosperity were ideals for which these churchmen would work. In their vision, slavery was not to be present, although there were great differences of opinion as to whether or not it should exist elsewhere. As the next chapter demonstrates, most Free-staters seemed to have wanted to stop the extension of slavery, not to abolish it.

Taken together, these elements constituted a worldview that was confident and vigorous. I maintain it was this worldview, taken to Kansas by the northern Protestants, that underlay the role of legitimation these persons assumed. In speaking and acting from such a perspective, they greatly shored up and legitimated the emergent structures and institutions of Kansas in their own minds and those of their supporters in the territory and stateside. "Free Kansas" was the chief political symbol and a major hope of their vision. But such things as temperance laws, school houses, sawmills and prosperous new towns also gained their praise and effort as parts of a total vision.

This vision, which included elements to which these northern Protestants had been socialised, now became the content of the socialisation of children and the political-social education of adults effected in Kansas. Children taught by William Carruth and the wives of Methodist and A.H.M.S. missionaries, were sure to hear "besides Christianity," that slavery was evil and did not belong in Kansas. An auditor of a sermon or public speech by Lum, Nute, Gilpatrick or other members of the clergy of our study would not fail to hear a statement of their clear conviction that God's work in Kansas Territory was to build up the institutions of a Christian civilization and to stop slavery's advance. The readers of George Brown's or Dwight Thacher's newspapers, of Charles Lines' or Julia Lovejoy's letters, or of Sara Robinson's book would gather that these northern Protestants held the same conviction. At meetings and conventions, in Kansas and in the east, the clergy and laymen who interpreted the Free-state cause left little doubt that they believed their work to by holy work, and that their enemies were doing the work of sin. To use Luckmann's phrase, the "means of transmission" of the worldview common to these northern Protestants were filled with a vision and interpretation of events and prospects in Kansas which had the effect of lending transcendence to the Free-state cause and the components of a northern-style civilization. These churchmen continually reinforced one another and their allies in the conviction that their work was necessary, good and providentially ordained to success. By doing this, they contributed in no small measure to the success of the Free-state movement and the leadership of men of like views in political, social and economic matters.

The framework which I have suggested best enables one to understand the words and behavior of the northern Protestants of this study is comprised of two parts: a cluster of converging or complimentary theological ideas, and an understanding of the social role of these churchmen through a sociological model of how a society is legitimated. The link between the two parts is the theological content of the worldview, for it is the theology of these northern Protestants that is their justification for seeing their worldview as transcendent, and too, is the deepest reason they exercised their social role of interpreter with such vigor. But the same depth of vision and strength of action operated in ways that there were to be serious consequences on the underclasses of Kansas Territory.

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NOTES

[1] A familiar example of theological snobbery is the following excerpt from a letter by A.H.M.S. missionary, Richard Knight:

> Our Sabbath meetings are attended by many from a distance of 6 or 8 miles who would otherwise have nothing but the teaching of ignorant men from some of the Western States who have come in as Emigrants and who have already held meetings advancing some of the crudest and strangest notions conceivable.

Quoted in Lindquist, art. cit., p. 425. William Ward, A.H.M.S. missionary at Oskaloosa, wrote his sending society in 1859 that one year after a local Methodist revival, "most of their converts had relapsed." Ward goes on: "Their [the Methodists] manners here, so noisy and ignorant, quite disgust the more educated part of the community." Quoted in: ibid., p. 426. It will recall that Samuel Lum envisioned his ministry at Lawrence as most gravely threatened by the success of Unitarian Ephraim Nute. The Congregationalist found Unitarianism "more in the way of the progress of saving truth, than any or all other influences combined." "Letters of S.Y. Lum," p. 180. But an instance from the other theological direction indicates that such attitudes were not confined to the more orthodox of northern Protestants. Ephraim Nute commented to his Association that the opposition of Lum to his work, "has helped us not a little. The other occasional preachers are very coarse and illiterate for the most . . ." Quoted in Denton, art. cit., p. 457.

[2] Sidney E. Ahlstrom, ed. Theology in America: The Major Protestant Voices From Puritanism to Neo-Orthodoxy (Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967). "Introduction," p. 45.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Smith, op. cit., p. 8.

[5] Quoted in Handy, op. cit., p. 27. The quotation is from Bushnell's Barbarism, The First Danger, (1847).

[6] Ibid., p. 48.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, Chapter Eight, "Sanctification in American Methodism," pp. 114-134, for a discussion of the popularity which the perfectionist doctrine enjoyed during this period.

[9] Holter, *op. cit.*, p. 70, analyses the first (1856) conference of the Methodist Church, North, in the territory and finds that it reflected strong evangelical interests, including Indian mission work, and a strong interest in having its church play an important role in the territory by placing missionaries at the largest population centers as well as building up educational institutions.

[10] Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53, 88-94, and Chapter Seven, "The Holiness Revival at Oberlin," pp. 103-113, for discussion of mid-century Congregationalism.

[11] *Minutes of the General Association of the Congregational Ministers and Churches of Kansas*. Meeting of 1857, p. 12.

[12] *Ibid*. Meeting of 1859, p. 44.

[13] Evidence of some betterment of relations between the territory's Methodists and Congregationalists would be the following instances: In a letter to his sending society, A.H.M.S. missionary Charles Blood of Manhattan wrote that in the early days of that settlement, he cooperated with a Methodist minister and a Baptist minister in arranging successive preaching appointments. Blood Correspondence, *AHMS Papers: Kansas*. Letter of May 1, 1855. Blood was remembered by an aged Charles Lovejoy, probably the Methodist Blood referred to, as having preached the first sermon on the future townsite of Manhattan. Blood preached the sermon in Lovejoy's tent. See Lovejoy, *A breaf sketch of history & life, espetially connected with my doing in Kansas.* Hand-written manuscript, University of Kansas, Kansas Collection. At least three Methodist ministers, Abraham Still, T.J. Ferrill and Charles Lovejoy, participated with Samuel Lum in the Lawrence Clerical Convention mentioned in Chapter Two of this study; cf. *Herald of Freedom*, February 23, 1856. Finally, the 1858 General Association meeting contained the following account of Methodist greetings: "Rev. J. Denison, of Manhattan, in a very appropriate and touching address, tendered the christian greetings of the Kansas and Nebraska Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church." *Minutes of the General Association*. Meeting of 1858, p. 4.

[14] Cf. *Minutes of the General Association*. Meeting of 1860.

[15] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 88f.

[16] Cf. Chapter Five, Part 1.

[17] Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

[18] *Gilpatrick Papers*, Letter of March 31, 1855.

[19] *Ibid*. Letter of October 30, 1856.

[20] Cf. Smith, *op. cit*., Chapter Six, "Evangelical Unitarianism," pp. 95-102.

[21] In a March, 1856 letter to the American Unitarian Association, is the following account of his experience with the Lawrence ministerial alliance:

> Have you seen an account of our alliance of ministers? I assure you it is a real and hearty union, such as I never enjoyed in New England with the brethren of other denominations. It is a great point gained that we have recognition and a respectful, yes a fraternal treatment from the ministers of every denomination with but a single exception [Lum] (and that has operated thus far greatly to our advantage).

Quoted in Denton, *art. cit*., p. 459. In an 1857 letter to the Association, Nute described the theology of his congregation in a way leaving no doubt that it was composed of evangelical Unitarians; he said the congregation professed "the true Evangelical Christianity, neither Lutherism nor Pantheism, neither Calvinism nor Transcendentalism; but in accordance with what I understand to be the intention of the contributors of your Association." Quoted in, *ibid*., p. 480.

[22] Smith, *op. cit*., p. 31.

[23] William H. Coffin, "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas Territory," previously cited, pp. 332, 341.

[24] Lutheran J.B. McAfee, Disciples minister Pardee Butler, and the low-church Episcopal ministers of the Philadelphia Association had similar theological trends operating, to a greater or lesser degree, in their churches. Cf. Smith, *passim*.

[25] Luckman, *op. cit*., p. 52.

[26] *Ibid*., p. 51.

[27] *Ibid*., p. 52.

CHAPTER FIVE

TO DO RIGHT TO GOD AND MAN: POINTS OF LEGITIMATION

The society which was emerging in Kansas Territory by 1859 looked very good, at least potentially, to the northern Protestants we have surveyed. Despite flaws like intemperance and a spirit of materialism, these churchmen were confident that eventually Kansas would become molded by the values and customs that represented civilization in their imaginations. Their churches were growing, for the most part.[1] They had weathered the challenge of pro-slavery forces; now they and their colleagues could turn their full attention to extending their churches and insuring that Kansas settlements would reflect the best elements of their eastern states of origin. Towns filled with prosperous, Protestant people, with churches, homes and schools, and governed under laws upholding temperance, among other things, were expected to soon become the norm. No one could have foreseen the terrible drought and famine of 1860, nor the disruption which the border phase of the Civil War would bring to Kansas. Before those devastating times, prospects seemed highly favorable that the goals of these northern Protestants would be realized. They had good reason to be proud of their contributions to the victory of Free-statism and their work for the institutions of civilization.

A different view of that same emerging society, from the bottom up, suggests that these northern Protestants also helped legitimate injustice. The territory's few blacks, numerous poorer white settlers and thousands of Indians in the Kansas area experienced the emerging society at its worst. Racist sentiment directed against black and red men was to find expression in laws, political resolutions and daily behavior. Indians not only faced the injustice of having their land sold when they had been promised its tenure, "as long as the grass grew or water run;" but they also found that whites were ready to take their shares of the money received or whatever new parcels of land they had been granted in place of that which they gave up. The white families who turned to the frontier capitalists for money to buy their land frequently found themselves unable to meet the usurious rates of interest and so lost everything.

By their support of the institutions and leaders of the society being made in Kansas, the northern Protestants of this study assisted also in the injustice visited upon the three underclasses. For the most part this support was tacit. By their silence, and by what they explicitly supported, they helped shore up institutions and condone behavior towards the underclasses which did them great harm. This chapter will look at the situation in territorial Kansas as it was for each of the three underclasses, discuss the response of these northern Protestants, largely their silence, and present a few of the prophets and gadflies who challenged both secular and religious leaders in the territory to take a different course.

That the behavior of these churchmen with respect to the underclasses was consistent, if not just, may be understood when seen in the light of their worldview, including their common theological ideas and their socio-political hopes, and in the light of their social role of legitimation. While some facets of their worldview will be considered in this chapter, it will be left to the conclusion of this study to integrate with their worldview the range of things they did and did not do. What the following sections demonstrate, simply, is that the same churchmen who so vocally supported the Free-state movement were conspicuously silent on what was happening to the three underclasses in Kansas Territory.

I. The Issue of Black People

It has been often observed that mid-century northerners could be both anti-slavery and anti-negro. Even in their anti-slavery views, there was more hatred of the south and southerners than interest in the welfare of black slaves. Larry O'Gara puts this dimension of northern anti-slavery sentiment into the perspective of northern political parties of the period:

> Criticism of the South had more appeal for Northern voters than abolition, and none of the anti-slavery political parties went so far as to embrace a clear-cut abolitionist program. Free soil, or the containment of slavery, was the common program basic to the Liberty party, the Free Soil party, and the Republican party. Such a moderate anti-slavery position enabled political leaders to attract the support of some abolitionists as well as many who would shrink at abolitionism but could accept the free soil idea.[2]

Kansas Free-staters were generally not unlike their anti-slavery fellow northerners. As Frederick Douglass wrote in 1856, "Opposing slavery and hating its victims has come to be a very common form of abolitionism."[3] Most northern Protestants simply did not reject their culture's attitudes and images of the black person. Blacks, for most of them, were innately inferior, visibly different, and a threat to racial and economic security. One might be concerned with ending slavery, or limiting its extension, but at the same time, be possessed of a conviction that the only place for blacks was in Africa. The continued support for colonization by many opposing slavery is an indication of this kind of attitude.[4]

The northern Protestants actively supporting the Free-state movement exhibited a range of attitudes and actions with regard to black people. The Free-state movement as a whole generally wished for a free, white state, in which negroes would either be excluded or rigidly controlled by laws governing such things as movement after dark, educational possibilities for children, and residence patterns. While there were some few dissenters to this general anti-black program, the same persons who actively supported the prevention of slavery either advocated exclusion or control of blacks or remained silent. Some northern Protestants would aid or approve of underground railroad activities in Kansas Territory, but few would oppose the prevailing racism of their fellow Free-staters. Let us examine some instances of the anti-black attitudes and actions of Kansas Free-state men, discuss the response of the northern Protestant supporters and note some of the handful of dissenters to this behavior.

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1. Official Statements, Platforms and Votes

It was at the mid-August, 1855, convention of Free-staters that the first "black law" was proposed for consideration.[5] The resolution was to exclude all negroes, slave and free, from Kansas Territory and the future state. Col. James Lane, a very prominent Free-state leader, correctly assumed from the support given that proposal in Lawrence that a similar resolution could be incorporated into the more formal Big Springs Platform of the Free-state party meeting held September 5 and 6, 1855. At that meeting, Lane proposed several resolutions among which were: the espousal by the Free-state party of the belief that free labor was best for the people, because slavery was a curse to the master, "if not for the slave"; that all negroes, slave and free, be forever excluded from Kansas; and that the charge of "abolitionism," levied against the Free-state group was ridiculous. Lane's resolutions were adopted by the convention upon the recommendation of its platform committee. Among that committee's members was Rev. Abraham Still, Presiding Elder of the Methodist Episcopal Conference for southern Kansas.[6]

The next official Free-state document is the Topeka Constitution, the document under which the government of the Free-staters operated, and the document proposed more than once in Congress as the instrument of Kansas statehood. The anti-black sentiments of the Big Springs document emerged in the constitutional convention in two ways. Article Two, section two of the Constitution read: "Every white male person, and every civilized male Indian who has adopted the habits of the white man . . . shall be deemed a qualified elector at elections . . ."[7] In the debates over the article, a motion was made for striking "white" from the wording of the statement. One clerical delegate, the A.H.M.S. missionary, Richard Knight, voted "Yea" to the motion; the other clerical delegate, Methodist J.M. Tuton from Missouri, voted against it. The vote on the motion was seven delegates for it, and twenty-five delegates against it.[8] The Big Springs resolutions also made themselves felt at the Topeka convention in the provision which was included on the ballot for ratification of the constitution: as a separate question from the constitution itself, voters were asked whether or not the future state of Kansas should exclude negroes and mulattoes. A total of 1,778 persons voted in the December, 1855, election, and accepted the constitution 1,731 - 46. The black exclusion proposition passed 1,287 - 453.[9]

Another constitution, the Leavenworth constitution, was written in March and April of 1858. At this time, the political shift that had taken place in the territory gave the Free-state party a majority of voters. The delegates to the convention, which was approved by the territorial government, came from both Free-state and Democratic ranks, with the Free-staters having a majority. The document they produced is interesting in that it is the only one of the five constitutions that emerged from the Kansas territorial period which nowhere contains the word "white."[10] In response to the omission of the word "white," the Free-state Central Committee and convention, held in late April, 1858, resolved to place on the ballot the question of negro suffrage and separate schools for black children.[11] Among the supporters of these measures was Rev. W.R. Griffith, inactive Unitarian minister and active Free-state politician.[12]

Former Free-staters were among the leading Republican figures in the conventions and delegate election that preceded the Wyandotte Constitutional convention. One Free-state Atchison editor, John A. Martin, commented that the Republican candidates successfully resisted the charge by Democratic candidates that they were "negro-equality"men.[13] At the convention itself, Republicans further demonstrated that they were not in favor of civil rights for blacks. While the Democratic moves to insert a negro-exclusion clause in the test of the constitution failed, the clause came close to passage. Added to some other kinds of restrictions that were placed on blacks by the constitution, the results of the process were not at all of aid to any blacks then in the territory or any that would come in afterwards.

The presence of strong anti-black attitudes in the total Kansas electorate made itself felt in a series of votes by delegates to the Wyandotte convention. The issue of negro-exclusion came up in the deliberations of the convention soon after its opening. Mr. Slough, a Democratic delegate, made the first such resolution which was referred to committee.[14] Mr. McDowell, another Democrat, presented a more detailed version of the same resolution later in the convention. He suggested that all free negroes and mulattoes be excluded after passage of the constitution; that all work contracts with free negroes and mulattoes made previous to the Wyandotte Constitution be declared null and void, and that fines of twenty to one-hundred dollars be imposed on those whites continuing such contracts; that fines collected from such violations be used for colonization of the present black population who "may be willing to emigrate."[15] The proposal missed passage by only five votes. Several former Free-state men, including W.R. Griffith, indicated their

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willingness to have the proposal voted upon by the electorate.[16] In another issue involving blacks, the provision in the constitution's text for a militia specified that it be limited to whites; Mr. Ritchie, Republican of Topeka, moved to strike "white," but saw his motion tabled by a 42 - 6 vote.[17]

The convention's Committee on Education originally proposed that children of black descent be entitled to an equitable portion of that state's common school fund, and that "the legislature shall make suitable provision for their education."[18] That proposal was eventually changed completely by a series of amendments and counter-motions; in fact, the original motion became an enabling law to establish an educational Board of Commissioners.[19] The debate occasioned a long discussion on black children and schooling. Two motions to limit school eligibility to white children were tabled.[20] Another motion on separate schools was also tabled.[21] Leading the Republican delegates against segregated schooling was Solon O. Thacher. His reasons for opposing segregation included his assumption that most white children were not "negro-tending or affiliating," and that few blacks would ever come to Kansas. Thacher proclaimed that he did not want to see Kansas which had gone through so much suffering, produce a constitution that "does not glow in every line and syllable with the glad light of liberty and freedom to all . . ."[22] The net effect of this sentiment, which carried the floor, was to leave school patterns up to local option.

Thacher's relatively liberal attitude on black citizenship appeared in the debates on limiting suffrage to white persons and the provisions for the control of one's person. At one point, Thacher offered a facetious amendment that stated all men were created free and equal, "except negroes and mulattoes."[23] In several votes on suffrage, motions to extend the franchise to blacks, Indians and women were tabled or defeated.[24] In one of the debates, Mr. Ritchie of Topeka was laughed at by the delegates for referring to a black man as a "gentleman."[25] Further attempts to go further than silence on the black issue produced no change and the constitution emerged highly ambiguous on the issue of black citizenship. While blacks were not excluded from the state, they faced the same legal situation common to their fellow-blacks in many other states: no elective franchise, no guarantee of schooling for children, and no protection against restrictions of their movement and housing patterns. What had been the Free-state movement, and was then the Republican party, had served its constituency's interests with respect to blacks; they had excluded slavery from Kansas, but had not given black persons protection under the law. With a handful of exceptions, no voice of dissent was raised by the northern Protestants who had helped carry the struggle in Kansas against southern forces to a successful conclusion.

2. Attitudes of the Free-staters

Underlying the public resolutions, platforms and votes that indicate the depth of anti-black sentiment among Kansas Free-staters is a complex of social and racial values common to much of northern culture in the mid-nineteenth century. Relatively few northerners in this period were able to see the black person as an equal, or as a desirable neighbor. While a majority of northerners may have disapproved of slavery, the thought of its immediate eradication, considered in all of its ramifications, was fearsome to them. On racial grounds, the negro was considered a

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lesser being than the white person. On economic grounds, the negro represented a threat to white farmers and laborers, and, while in slavery, a threat to the economic system of the north whose wholesale prices could be threatened by the cheap labor that the negro slave provided in the South. On social grounds, institutions like the church, the school, the family and the neighborhood were closed to black persons as a matter of course. Blacks in slavery were often viewed with sympathy, but the sympathy was just as often followed by the wish that the blacks be removed to some place other than one's surrounding community, preferably Africa. To this general pattern of racism, there were few exceptions on the Kansas scene. A few examples confirm this.

The Lawrence Herald of Freedom printed a letter from a resident of its own city in late April of 1855. It said, in part:

> The Black law, that is, prohibiting free men of color from citizenship, or the privileges of holding real property, is now taking the lead in politics as the most expedient and in fact the only means of securing Kansas to Freedom. A great majority of the Western emigrants seem more in favor of a slave state, than a free state with negroes.[26]

The negro-exclusion vote attached to the Topeka Constitution vote later in that year confirms the observation.[27]

Even public friends of black emancipation or service to black persons reflect some ambiguous attitudes. Isaac Goodnow, Methodist educator and Free-state Kansas man, could write in his diary that he was thinking of taking a position at a college for black youth in Ohio, vowing, "I feel an interest for our poor persecuted Blacks."[28] A year later, Goodnow wrote in his diary about the successful struggle to keep the question of black suffrage out of the text of the Leavenworth Constitution. He writes: "A business day again. Evening session till 2 A.M. Some excitement [.] Close debates on Free suffrage! 'Nigger in the wood pile.' hard trial to keep him out! succeeded! at last!"[29] George W. Brown, moderate anti-slavery man and Free-state leader, printed both abolitionist statements and such things as jokes about negro hair.[30] In another entry he noted that in Kansas Territory there were very few black persons, while in slave-state Missouri they were, "swarming like black birds."[31]

In 1858 and 1859, the Republican tendency to deny negro-equality values appears on the Kansas scene. John M. Walden, later to become a bishop in the Methodist Church in Kansas, had arrived in the territory from Cincinnati in the spring of 1857. At the request of Charles Robinson, Walden came to Kansas to edit a newspaper at Quindaro and take a part in Free-state politics. Walden did both, and went on to become one of the chief organisers of the Republican party in 1858. On a speaking tour against the Lecompton Constitution in the summer of that year, Walden also recruited people for the new party. In a letter to the editor of the Zanesville, Ohio, Aurora, Walden explained what it meant to him to be a Republican. He summarizes his party's platform: "Non-interference with Slavery in the States, non-extension of slavery into Territories . . . In the above principles there is no more of Abolitionism than is embodied in the Democratic platform."[32]

Another Republican editor exhibited what could be interpreted as an even stronger anti-black attitude. This was John A. Martin, native

Pennsylvanian and editor of the Atchison Freedom's Champion. Martin was twenty-one years old when he came to Kansas in 1857. He had been invited by prominent Free-stater, Samuel Pomeroy, who had bought out many of the pro-slavery business interests in the city of Atchison, including the newspaper, the Squatter Sovereign. Martin made the paper into a strong Free-state (later Republican) paper filled with party news and editorial excoriations of enemies like the Democratic party and pro-slavery spokesmen. Martin occasionally used the term "nigger" in his paper, most often in derision of Democrats whom he saw as endangering free white labor by their acceptance or toleration of slavery.[33] Martin noted John Brown's Missouri raid to free slaves with approval, and also reprinted an article sympathetic to the black uprising against the French in Haiti.[34] But his most bitter term for Democrats and their party was "Africans," and "African Democracy."[35] Martin commended the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention for not enfranchising "niggers and Indians."[36] His derision of those who opposed his position is clear in the following editorial excerpt:

> Every ABOLITIONIST ORGAN in the United States denounces the Wyandot Constitution in the severest language, because it does not give negroes the right of suffrage. The Garrisonians & the Democrats are in the same boat--both sailing lovingly together, and both bitterly opposing the Wyandot Constitution.[37]

To this and similar statements, there was little response. It may be suggested that to those few Free-staters who may have had a more humane view of the humanity and equality of the black person, other priorities, especially the Free-state cause itself, seemed important

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enough not to challenge the prevailing racism. Some northern Protestants did involve themselves in the underground railroad, among them Richard Cordley, A.H.M.S. minister at Lawrence after Samuel Lum. While an ardent Free-stater, and personally sympathetic to blacks, it was only with a great deal of nervousness and trepidation that he harbored a fugitive black girl at his home for several weeks.[38] Other stations on the fugitive route included the "Beecher Bible Church" of Charles Lines' Waubaunsee colony, and the home of Quaker Indian missionary, Henry Harvey.[39]

Northern Protestants who involved themselves in the Free-state movement did little to oppose the anti-black actions and attitudes of their fellow Free-staters. Despite the strong language of "Freedom," and the linking of their cause to biblical images and what they saw as divine approbation of their work, the parameters of freedom publically advocated by these churchmen, did not go beyond members of the white race.

3. Critics and Dissenters to Anti-black Attitudes and Actions

The one organized group that might have been expected to offer some sustained resistance to the predominant anti-black values of the Free-state movement was the abolitionist group that met at the Richard Mendenhall home on occasional evenings from 1855 onwards.[40] But as Nathaniel Henshaw, a member of that group recalled, the group did not even keep any written records for fear of reprisals if their talk and resolutions were discovered. One may only speculate that this group of radical abolitionists, which included John Brown, recognised the futility of any pro-black sentiments they might raise in public meetings and

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assemblies, and settled for defeating the pro-slavery forces through military and electoral means.

Several A.H.M.S. missionaries were in the tiny minority of Free-state men willing to take toward the black person a public stance different from that of most of their fellow northerners. Richard Knight of Hampden, as previously mentioned, voted with the minority against the negro-exclusion provision in the Topeka Constitution.[41] Rev. Paul Shepherd, the Society's man at Tecumseh, Kansas, wrote to his superior in 1858:

> I have rendered myself rather unpopular by rebuking the black law spirit which prevails here. They desire laws which will drive every colored person from the state, & never suffer them nor any others to return. They are, however, well supplied with preachers, who sympathise with them in trying to inflict such an outrage upon the rights of the African race. O my soul, come not unto their secret, unto their assembly mine honors be not thou united![42]

S.D. Storrs, A.H.M.S. man at Quindaro, reported that in his city there was a great deal of prejudice against the few black children who lived there. He, too, reported a majority of citizens in favor of a "black law." His wife responded to this situation by allotting a portion of her time each week to give black children free educational instruction.[43] Finally, Rev. Lewis Bodwell, the Society's man at Topeka, wrote to Milton Badger, A.H.M.S. secretary, in 1858:

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> When men around me and among them members of my own church attach their names to documents which in my mind throw away all of vital principle connected with the Kansas struggle & declare themselves "in favor of a free white state to the exclusion of bound or free blacks," I begin to tremble for our cause in Kansas. These signs of selfish ambitions & deep moral corruption already plain & abundant, disgust me most completely. Who would think of a man with the name & fame which Gov. Charles Robinson has won declaring (as I heard him) in a public meeting in Lawrence "the talk about consistency in a struggle like this is an absurdity."[44]

Expressions of sympathy and fellow feeling for black persons, in or out of slavery, indicate a willingness on the part of some to publicly dissent from the prevailing racism. Julia Lovejoy, in a letter to the Methodist paper, Zion's Herald, in 1859, told the story of a free mulatto girl sold into slavery by Missourians and then rescued by some Kansans. Mrs. Lovejoy portrayed the girl's probable fate in contrast to the respect she would be accorded living in free territory.[45] In January, 1859, when it appeared that free blacks living in Lawrence were in danger of being kidnapped and sold into slavery, Ephraim Nute helped organize their temporary removal to a safer region.[46] Charles Lovejoy and Unitarian Daniel Foster were involved in an almost violent uproar when the young Unitarian delivered an oration for the Fourth of July, 1859, celebration at Sumner. Foster declared that all men, including blacks, were created equal, and that was the phrase that set the crowd off.[47]

One clear voice for the black person early in the territory's history was that of John Brown, Jr., son of the radical abolitionist. As a delegate and member of the Free-state Executive Committee, Brown was present at the August, 1855, convention which first voiced sentiments for a "black law."[48] He reported the convention in a letter to Frederick Douglass' Paper:

> There is a portion of the free State party here who will recognize as a free State only that which in letter and spirit will carry on the sublime principles of the Declaration of Independence; another, and perhaps larger portion, is in favor of making a free State for the white, while they would place the most outrageous restrictions upon the colored man . . .
>
> God grant that we may be saved from the infamy which must attach to us in the judgment of all who merit the name of freemen by so shaping our course that we shall by our united efforts promote the cause of Freedom, not that of despotism, under the specious name of the "Free State party of Kansas Territory!"[49]

Frederick Douglass himself became one of the most eloquent dissenters to the prevailing anti-black values of Kansas Free-staters. A black man and a former slave himself, Douglass had no patience with these men. In an 1855 comment, written soon after news of the Big Springs black-exclusion resolution had reached him, he said that Kansas Free-staters were as much entitled to their name as the vilest "border ruffians."[50] He reprinted the text of the resolution which maintained that the introduction of free blacks into Kansas would be "productive of evil . . . and dangerous to the institutions of our sister State [Missouri]." Douglass scornfully remarked: "What glaring inconsistency! What damnable iniquity! . . . THE FREE STATE PARTY IS BUT AN ALLY OF THE SLAVE POWER."[51] Douglass said that he could not sympathize with any reports of outrages or violence done to such men. Better the party be destroyed, he said, "if it is to prosper and fatten on our blood . . . [it deserves] to be defeated." He continues in what is perhaps his most incisive judgment on Kansas Free-staters:

> The opposition to Slavery which these men manifest, is not based upon Principle, but upon their own Interest . . . They are not opposed to this crime of herding their fellow men with the beasts of the field because it is a crime, but because white men are degraded, and pecuniarily injured by slave labor, and because, too, they do not relish the idea of their own enslavement [to the Missourians] . . . They will, themselves, wield the lash of proscription over their fellow-countrymen, and drive them into exile, provided such a course of conduct will prove conducive to self-aggrandizement . . .[52]

Douglass' words suggest that the members and supporters of the Free-state movement were locked into a program in which self-interest was not overcome, despite the rhetoric of the group, and because of this, real harm was done to those black people then in Kansas, as well as any that might have gone there after that time. Neither the slave-owner nor the Free-stater, Douglass pointed out, had any just vision of how black people ought to be regarded. Douglass used terms like "fellow human being," but neither the slave-holder nor the ordinary Kansas Free-state man could envision a black person in those terms. When in a later issue of his paper, he reports the remarks of a leading Free-state man, Mark Delahy, that a Negro is no more human than a mule, Douglass' judgment seems confirmed for at least a major portion of the Free-state ranks. There is both poignancy and anger in Douglass' later assessment of the situation for the black man in 1859 in Kansas. He wrote: "The Democrats have delcared themselves our enemies, and the Republicans have not declared themselves our friends."[53]

Another radical outsider and dissenter to prevailing racism in Free-state ranks was William Lloyd Garrison. In late 1854, a correspondent for the Liberator wrote to Garrison that anti-black feelings were high among non-New Englanders in the territory, while New England settlers there seemed interested only in personal gain:

> . . . I can find but a few who dare to say that they are in favor of allowing the colored man to come here and buy land on an equality with the white man. The common cry is, "We want slavery and no niggers." . . . I am much disappointed in the character of the New England emigrants. They come here, as men go to California, mainly after money.[54]

Garrison himself criticized the Free-state movement for its racism in an 1856 article for his paper which was in response to the Henry Ward Beecher address calling for rifles for Free-state settlers. Garrison called the movement deceptive in its rhetoric, and extremely self-serving in its anti-slavery goals:

> It is said to be a struggle for liberty; and earnest appeals are made to the hearts and the pockets of all who desire to see liberty victorious.
> We burn with indignation at the insults and outrages to which the settlers have thus been subjected . . . But we deny, in the first place, that they are acting upon principle, or contending for equal rights. They resent as a foul slander the charge of being abolitionists; they proclaim a truce on their part with slavery where it now exists; they are pro-slavery in spirit and position . . . they have meanly and wickedly proscribed every man of color, and made it illegal for him to be a resident in the Territory; they do not object to slave-hunting on their soil . . . they are contending for their own rights as white men, not for the rights of all . . .[55]

Finally, in another 1856 article, considering the radical abolitionist stance in the approaching Republican campaign, Garrison typically called for a continuing stand on principles. He said that the abolitionist position was not to substitute non-extension of slavery for abolition. He also wrote, in a statement with reference to the north, including Kansas Territory:

> It is not to plead for the white laborer to the forgetfulness of the black laborer, nor to concern ourselves exclusively with consecrating to freedom any particular portion of the American soil, for ours is neither a complexional nor a sectional movement. It is not to act upon the jesuitical maxim, that the end sanctifies the means . . .[56]

The key figures among northern Protestants who have occupied our interest in previous chapters nowhere come near to the level of moral judgment which a handful of their colleagues and some outside radicals do. Men like Nute might personally risk arrest for conspiring to rescue a man under criminal charges in another state. The Connecticut Kansas colonists, and Quakers like Richard Mendenhall might risk arrest and worse for being involved in the underground railroad of fugitive Missouri slaves. Yet Lum, Nute, Goode, Gilpatrick, Brown, the Robinsons and other northern Christians are conspicuously silent on the issue of black rights within Kansas Territory. Several reasons suggest themselves for this silence. The prevention of slavery in Kansas was an almost all-consuming moral and political task, fraught with many difficulties. The majority of Free-state settlers was anti-black, and the northern Protestants of our study may not have been able to afford antagonizing them, whatever their personal views, if it meant jeopardizing the political possibility

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of a free state. Furthermore, they themselves may not have held the view that blacks were desirable neighbors or worthy fellow-citizens. For whatever reason, those who might have been most expected to respond to the legitimate complaints of dissenters that the Free-state movement was hypocritical and self-serving in its rhetoric of "freedom," did not do so. Shepherd, Storrs, Bodwell and Foster (and perhaps the Lovejoys) within the territory, Douglass, Garrison and other abolitionists outside the territory were unheeded in their words of judgment. The "civilization" envisioned by the churchmen of this study, and the free state of Kansas they worked for was indeed, in the words of the dissenters, free for whites and civilized along a white, northern model. Lewis Bodwell's disgust at Charles Robinson for disavowing principle for the political struggle is a telling critique, but might similarly be applied to his northern Protestant brethren who were Free-state, but silent in the face of a prevailing anti-black mood.

II. Capitalism

The clergy and lay people of the north who came to Kansas Territory came with a worldview that impelled them toward civilization-building on a northern model. In terms of black persons, what this meant was a real, if sometimes benevolently-intentioned, racism that had serious repercussions on actual or potential black settlers in Kansas. On the issue of enterprise capitalism, there was even greater unanimity. The gathering and protection of private property was considered a part of God's natural order in which a person was permitted great latitude. Most churchmen simply could not imagine a different economic order of things, and very few criticized the means and methods whereby persons acquired, nurtured and protected their investments. If a person in business was sufficiently generous to worthy causes like temperance, education and other reform and charitable concerns; if a person was an attendant, or preferably a member of some established church; if a person's private moral life was publicly above reproach, then few would raise the voice of criticism too loudly. True, there were periodic sermons against the spirit of materialism or speculation. But it was not until the ages of Gladden and Rauschenbusch that there was developed a critique of economic structures and behavior that portrayed the economic order systemically instead of in terms of a loose linking of individuals. As a Christian preacher in this era, one appealed to personal generosity and fair-play, trusting that the good heart of the Christian entrepeneur was self-critical enough to avoid evil in his enterprise.[57] While there was the under-theme to this, that is, the criticism of materialism, generally speaking the churchmen of the north were willing supporters of their region's economic structures and habits. Transferred to the Kansas frontier, once again a situation developed in which churchmen legitimated an order in the making. This legitimation was accomplished directly by their interpretative role and their sometimes personal involvement in the economic activities of their fellow Kansans. It may be said to have been accomplished indirectly by their general silence and lack of criticism when those economic activities profited some at the expense of others, especially the poorer white settler and the Indian tribes of Kansas. As a point of legitimation, capitalism in Kansas Territory is an instance of the extent to which some northern churchmen were helpful to those who would profit from the Kansas situation.

1. Economic Conditions, 1854-1859

By any yardstick, Kansas Territory was a place of great economic hardship for most of its residents. Not only did the territory face the problems of attracting capital and building an economic base for itself common to other frontiers, but it also had at least one year of disruptive, sometimes violent conflict, and another year of national economic depression with which to contend that in its effects, lasted longer within the territory. Even settlers who came with some money were faced with a market where imported goods were found to be necessary for anything beyond mere survival, and the prices of these goods soon reduced their nest-eggs. Seed, lumber, and especially land-money were major expenditures that could destroy an individual's or a family's savings and force them to return east, as many did. Completing the economic picture were those who sought to profit from land, owners of various types of stores, purveyors of services such as law, persons with railroad projects, editors of newspapers and the range of people seeking to capitalize on the things needed by a frontier, agriculture-based society would demand.[58]

The economic activity and conflict that marked Kansas' territorial years centered particularly on land. Paul W. Gates asserts that the matter of land-issues, especially in relationship to railroad projects, was the sub-surface, but most common force in the conflicts which marked the territorial years.[59] Contemporary observers confirm this picture, even when their obvious interest seemed to be the portrayal of the Kansas conflict in terms of a dispute over slavery. Julia Lovejoy, noted in previous chapters as one of the most prolific and articulate interpreters of the Free-state movement to eastern readers, frequently mentioned the activities centering around land-issues in her public and private letters. One 1857 letter to a New Hampshire paper talked of the fact that claims in and around Lawrence had greatly increased in value in the previous months, and Mrs. Lovejoy encouraged her readers to emigrate and invest there.[60] An 1858 letter to Zion's Herald, the Boston Methodist paper, described land conditions also. Mrs. Lovejoy stated that many claims were as yet untaken, described the price of cabin-building, encouraged especially good mechanics to come to Kansas. She reported, too, that some claims had been the occasion of killings.[61] Another 1858 letter, written in the midst of the financial depression then gripping the country, described a very tight money situation; loans, even at a 50% interest rate, were unavailable.[62] One year later, Mrs. Lovejoy reported that the "hard times" continued, with low salaries for ministers, "fantastic" interest rates of 30 - 50%, and a great deal of mortgaging activity which settlers undertook to save their property from sheriffs' sales.[63]

Land issues were settled in various ways, but especially through the federal government's land sales and the acquisition of Indian lands. Settlers, in-territory speculators and outside capitalists flocked to the first of several land sales which began in 1857. Under those lands open for pre-emption, settlers had first choice on improved, "working" claims, but their lack of ready capital frequently put them at a loss. They had bought supplies upon entering the territory and endured up to three years of the ordinary difficulty of beginning a farm, as well as the border violence, and thus were quite short of cash. One Dragon Creek settler, Stephan J. Spear, described what happened to many in that kind of situation:

> There was a financial panic in the eastern states during 1857 that was felt keenly by the settlers in this territory during the fall . . . and when their lands were brought into market they didn't have the specie to pay for them. However, there were kind-hearted men, brokers, at the land office at Lecompton, who would loan the settlers money to preempt land, charging them only from forty-eight to sixty percent interest a year and taking a mortgage on the land for security.[64]

Outside capital entered Kansas Territory with the hope of rapid profit-taking as land and other opportunities increased in economic value. One observer noted some of the possibilities for investors in western states:

> . . . investments in wild land and urban lots, loans at frontier rates of interest of 24 to 60 per cent and more a year, banks, land grant railroads, franchises, urban industries, mines of precious or base metal, great stands of pine . . . and local government bonds offered at bargain prices.[65]

All kinds of persons were interested in making a profit in Kansas and it may be safely interpreted, on the bases of research by scholars like Paul W. Gates, that the great issue in Kansas was not slavery or no slavery, but who would maintain economic, political and social control of the new territory.[66] Free-staters, slave-staters and persons indifferent to slavery exhibited a remarkable interest in land and the conflicts that ensued in the territory made the development of Kansas more problem-ridden than any similar territory in its period of settlement.[67] While outside investment was of course needed in the new territory if it were to become self-sufficient, the persons most hurt by the influx of outside capital were legitimate settlers. As Gates remarks: "Thousands of Kansas settlers signed mortgages bearing these frontier interest rates to save their homes, only to lose them later through inability to meet such exactions."[68]

In brief, Kansas Territory provides a picture of a typical frontier society in which persons could risk much of their money, time and family energy and still fail to acquire any fruits of their labor. In this, Kansas is not unique, but neither is it therefore immune to criticism then or now. To paraphrase Lynd, there seems to have been more "beast" than "brother" behavior on the Kansas frontier with reference to economic activities.

Within the emerging structures of the territory, as we have previously noted, churchmen played a legitimating role. This is, if anything, even more true in the economic arena. Many northern Protestants mentioned in this study were involved, by their actions or their silence, in supporting and interpreting the developments which were to hurt so many Kansans. To their role we now turn.

2. Capitalism and White Settlers

Charles Blood, the A.H.M.S. missionary at Manhattan, wrote to his sending society in September of 1858, that one of the causes of religion's failure to prosper in the territory was that "the minds of many are full of care and anxiety about their claims. These cares will not be removed until they have paid for their lands and secured a title to them."[69] Blood's recognition of the debilitating effect of financial concerns on evangelical efforts was frequently echoed in other missionary

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letters. Yet the same Rev. Blood wrote to the A.H.M.S. earlier in 1857 a shrewd appraisal of the status-power of a minister and congregation in a new town:

> Whatever may be the views of city builders in Kansas on the subject of religion & however destitute of a personal interest in it they may be, they are generally wise enough to know that one or more good church edifices on a city site will greatly enhance the value of the property. Hence their willingness to assist in Church creation in their new towns.[70]

Many of the same northern Protestants previously examined in relation to the Free-state movement might make a critique of the spirit of speculation or materialism similar to Blood's, but would also recognize that they and their fellow pastors occupied a position of high importance in the visions of town and society builders in Kansas Territory. Some of them generally preferred being above the actual business of promotion and sales of land and the launching of other enterprises; some were involved directly, for their own or their friends' benefit. But virtually all of these persons supported the launching of the Kansas economy along the paths of speculation, land and town building, banking, milling and other activities. As in the case of the Free-state movement, financial activities were interpreted through the media of missionary letters, books and newspaper articles. And as in the situation in the territory for black persons, a good deal of the support for territorial capitalism was tacit.

Samuel Lum represents the type of minister who had personally removed himself from the day-to-day financial activities of his Free-state friends. Though he was a member of the Lawrence Association, the group which controlled the allotment of city lots and stimulated other business activities, Lum appears to have viewed the ministerial calling as above personal profit-making. Since he made six hundred dollars a year, he may be said to have been in a better position to take this view than other less fortunate preachers. As A.H.M.S. superintendent in Kansas in his last months there, Lum recommended that a man identified only as a Mr. Parsons not be given a society appointment because Parsons engaged in a large land agency business and that "would not add much to the influence of a Missionary."[71] Still, Lum was no anti-capitalist. He had earlier written to the editors of the influential New York Independent, a major Congregationalist paper, what can only be termed a promotion piece. In his letter, he expresses the hope that New York capitalists will not be behind New England capitalists in contributing to the "triumph" of the Free-state forces; "Certainly if the New England enterprise [the Emigrant Aid Company] may be taken as a criterion, they need not fear in reference to the safety of their investment."[72] Lum continued his appeal with this observation:

> Since I have been in this country I have often wished that Eastern men could see the necessity of sacrificing (no I didn't mean sacrificing for it would be returned in large dividends, but lending) money as well as men in the great and momentous work of making Kansas a free State.[73]

Charles Lines, writing to his New Haven paper in 1856, had a similar appeal. "The great want of the Territory," he said, "is CAPITAL."[74] Lines observed that prices were extremely high and that this situation would have to stop:

> In these matters everything is out of joint, and $100,000 brought in now from the East, could be so used as to bring a splendid return to the capitalists, and do very much to settle and organize the affairs of the territory.[75]

As Lines was one of the principal organizers of Waubaunsee, his was a more direct stake in the economic well-being of the territory. In a letter written a month after the one just quoted, Lines said the Connecticut colony's greatest need at that time was funds for building a church, a school house and a hotel. He said their construction would provide employment and when completed, provide an attraction to the town, and "lay the foundations for its future character and success."[76] The last two words cited, "character," and, "success," seem neatly to sum up the model operative in Lines' vision of building a prairie version of a New England village, in morals and in terms of economic growth like its eastern prototype.

One of the most vocal of Kansas capitalism's supporters was the redoubtable Julia Lovejoy. Several of her appeals to "Come to Kansas" were directed to family members, others to her New England readership. An 1856 letter, addressed to her uncle in New Hampshire echoed the moral and financial combination of motives that seems to have been present in Charles Lines' vision. She asks her uncle to tell their relatives to " . . . come here in March and take a 'claim,' and with the blessing of God you may make your fortune! We have no object but your temporal good and the cause of freedom in thought. All who can come, will find it for their good."[77] In an 1859 letter, Mrs. Lovejoy noted that many had abandoned their homes in the territory because of the difficult money conditions that prevailed. But, she told her readers, this could be to the advantage of new immigrants, and she cited her own town of Sumner as an example:

> Another inducement held out as a beacon to beckon emigrants in this direction, is the money market, so stringent at the present writing in Kansas, that shares and lots in Sumner can be bought on easier terms than heretofore, because some of the owners need to make an early sale to procure money for other purposes.—Now is the time to make an investment in Sumner and procure an inviting home in Kansas, the universally-acknowledged "garden of the western world."[78]

Mrs. Lovejoy's apparent shrewdness was not merely in words only. She and her family, a Methodist missionary family subsisting on one hundred dollars a year allotment, had been involved in speculation from the first arrival of Charles Lovejoy in 1855. Mr. Lovejoy delayed an appointment by his conference to Lawrence in 1855 while he secured his claim at Manhattan.[79] Charles Lovejoy, Jr. boasted to his relatives in New Hampshire that he would get a rich claim on the recently sectionized lands of the Shawnee tribe. He later did, according to his mother, who valued her son's land at over twelve hundred dollars.[80] But it was Mr. Lovejoy who engaged in speculative propositions to a remarkable extent. The following long excerpt from one of Julia Lovejoy's letters of 1857 documents the number and kind of land deals that her husband (and son) undertook:

Now for a family "chat" as I have long wished to have; What follows is just for your eye, father and mother, and nobody's else--first, we are trying to do right to God and man--second, we are all of us well in body, and in temporal matters, if our plans succeed we shall have enough for ourselves and something to do with--our claim in Manhattan joins the City and must be worth $5,000; forty acres of this will be worth $1,000 which we give to a German Methodist, to hold the whole for us [a frequent, but illegal procedure], and carry it on, one or two years--we find team, and all even to his bed, and things to keep house with, to keep him there; he has agreed to preempt it, in his own name, we paying the money to enter it and deed back 120 acres to us, and unless he backslides, and is guilty of perjury, he will do so--We have 6 shares in M[anhattan]. City stock, worth $600 and the Association voted me one share, worth $100--Mr. L. has sold four for four hundred doll[ar]s--we have paid for 80 acres of a Methodist brothers claim, 8 miles from here--Charles [jr.] bought 8 lots in Lawrence, last winter, and cleared $400, and if he had kept them until now he might have cleared 800--with this money Mr. L. bought a "claim" in Palmyra, 8 miles from here, to pre-empt ourselves, for Charles, who had lost two claims, and not a small sum expended on one, by not being of age--forty acres of splendid timber on this at P[almyra]. and Mr. L. thinks it is the loveliest spot he has seen yet; only one claim between that, and a town laid out which must be a large place, as they have located the [Baker] University there, and property has run up enormously since we bought--it is worth today $3,000 . . . Charles [the son] is one of the keenest speculaters you ever saw, and trade he will, as much as uncle Dan, and we cannot keep him from it--he is a noble young man--We have one lot here cost us $300 now worth 500; another, near the levee here, not prized and two where our house stands, which with the buildings we value at $1,500 or 2000 and also a "fraction" timber lot of 3 acres, joining Lawrence for which we gave a yoke of cattle and 30 doll[ar]s some time ago, now tis very valuable, and no doubt it will be jumped and

> we shall lose it unless we sell it immediately. Our losses have been 5 or 600 and not made up, as we though, thought, that the stolen things would be from the East [an apparent reference to money or goods lost in the mails]. Now, I have told you the simple "talk" that I knew you would want to know.[81]

With such a family involvement in the land business in Kansas Territory, it is little wonder that Mrs. Lovejoy approved of speculators entering the territory, stimulating the traffic in claims and lots. In one 1857 letter, she noted that Lawrence was full of visitors, including two rich men who wanted to "invest their thousands in laying out towns," as well as a fellow Methodist, the "great-hearted and good Dr. E. of Chicago, worth his half-million . . . "[82]

Other northern Protestants in the territory were also involved in money-making propositions. Ephraim Nute came to Kansas with the encouragement and approval of the noted New England Unitarian, Edward Everett Hale. In 1855, Hale had advised Nute to go to Kansas as soon as he possibly could, "with the distinct selfish purpose of being early in the choice of land."[83] Hale further noted that Nute's "location" might be worth thousands of dollars for himself in five years. Nute's public papers do not indicate whether or not he took advantage of Hale's prophecy, but he was involved in financial affairs for others. In the spring of 1856, on the trip back east which included his dramatic appearance at the Unitarian meeting in Boston, Nute was part of a Lawrence merchant's commission seeking to find a port of entry other than St. Louis for eastern goods consigned to Kansas. The group met with representatives in Alton, Illinois, a town considered safer for goods earmarked for Free-state settlers.[84] Finally, in a letter to the American Unitarian Association, Nute asks if the group was "trading

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on the missionary spirit in the churches" to make money for itself.[85] While his tone indicated disapproval, he continues his letter by mentioning towns such as Wyandotte, Doniphan, Quindaro and Sumner where speculative possibilities were promising.

Isaac Goodnow, the Manhattan Methodist, involved himself in the economic development of his town as well as the development of its spiritual and educational institutions. In an 1857 trip to the east, Goodnow raised funds for the Manhattan Methodist church building and acted as agent for the college which eventually became Baker University. On this trip, he notes in his diary, he also sold lots of city land to interested easterners.[86]

William Hutchinson, a member of Ephraim Nute's Unitarian congregation in Lawrence and a minister himself (though inactive), travelled east in late 1856 as a commissioner for the Free-state "Kansas State Central Committee." The purpose of the trip was to increase northern immigration and northern investment.[87]

Rev. James Shaw, a Methodist minister and Presiding Elder of the Leavenworth district in 1858, illustrated the kind of cooperation that could exist between a churchman and economic leaders in a town. In a reminiscence written many years afterwards, Shaw described how he gained his first post in 1857:

> Three miles above Doniphan, a Free State Company had struck their stakes for a town, and called it Geary City. They were anxious for a preacher who would build a school house, teach their children, and preach for them, and offered me an interest in their town if I would engage with them.[88]

Shaw accepted the offer and moved to Geary City with his family. A colleague of Shaw's, a man identified only as a "Brother Butt," accepted the offer of a Free-state group which bought a majority interest in the city of Atchison. The group was headed by Samuel C. Pomeroy, agent for the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Pomeroy and his group offered Butt a lot if he would build a house in Atchison, and also pledged support of a Methodist church building there, on the condition that it be located on a lot of the group's choosing. Members of the group pledged fifteen hundred dollars for the church in the first year of Rev. Butt's ministry.[89]

Both Samuel Pomeroy and Charles Robinson were engaged in enterprises involving thousands of dollars during the territorial period. As Emigrant Aid Company agents, some of their work was done for that group of northern investors and in the interests of Free-state settlements.[90] But personal profit was never far from either man's view. Pomeroy had his Atchison investments, and Charles Robinson his investments in Quindaro. In January of 1857, Robinson resigned his post as governor under the Topeka Constitution to travel to the east to gain support for his speculation-investment of Quindaro.[91] Later that same year, Robinson was also involved in lending money to settlers and prospective settlers on good security for five per cent a month interest, purchasing claims for absent owners with half of the land going to himself and offering mortgages for two hundred dollars at forty per cent annual interest.[92] The fact that Pomeroy and Robinson were identified with the New England Emigrant Aid Company, so much supported by New England and other northern Protestants, probably did not discourage their co-religionists in the territory from doing business with them. None of the Protestant Free-staters raised a critical voice against the practices of these leaders or others in the movement.

The preceding few examples of northern Protestants in their economic practices and attitudes suggests that a pattern of legitimation also existed in this area. Churchmen from the north had carried a vision of what constituted a Christian civilization to Kansas Territory. That vision implicitly or explicitly gave approval to enterprise capitalism, with little or no specific words of counsel on what practices that system might rightfully employ to gain its ends. Some ministers were tied into the structures of territorial economy by their personal investment of money in land or other enterprises. Others were tied into these structures by accepting a favored-status position offered by town builders. Northern Protestants in general were often unable to depend upon outside sources for their living expenses, and so developed an interest in seeing Kansas Territory become an economically viable situation, because that would guarantee their own success and the success of their denomination. The legitimation of the emerging economic structures and practices in Kansas, then, received their support, approval, and at least in some cases, their hard work for personal investments.

3. A Handful of Critics

No full-scale critique of the economic structures and customs of territorial Kansas was offered at the time of its operation. None would have been expected, except perhaps by the most visionary or utopian of reformers during that era. What is surprising is that so little criticism of capitalism's excesses within the territory met the public eye. That which did tended to be the previously-mentioned religious criticism of the spirit of materialism, or expressions of resentment against practices which unduly burdened the poorer settler, or observations of the hypocrisy of claiming to stand for freedom while really primarily interested in personal gain.

A frequent lament of Kansas and other frontier missionaries was that settlers neglected religious responsibilities to pursue their own material ends. Such a lament was sounded in a late 1854 letter of Samuel Lum to the A.H.M.S.: he characterized the population of Lawrence as mostly motivated by "selfish or mercenary motives."[93] Even Sara Robinson, wife of Charles, suggested that "the spirit of manliness . . . is giving way before the increasing thirst for gold, which is the god of this country."[94] Episcopal missionary, John McNamara, claimed that one of the major reasons pro-slavery settlers in the Leavenworth area were hostile toward him was on account of the sermon he preached in Kickapoo one Sunday. With reference to the quarrelling and contention he had observed in connection with land claims, McNamara preached on the text: "What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his immortal soul?" Two weeks later, he was denied a place to preach in Kickapoo, center for a number of speculators interested in gaining the lands of the Delaware Indian tribe.[95]

An example of at least indirect hostility toward speculators and outsiders who put money out to loan is to be found in the following words of an editorial by John A. Martin. His Freedom's Champion criticized the 1859 action of U.S. President Buchanan requiring the sale and disposition

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of most of the land in eastern Kansas. Martin feared, correctly, that the settlers would be gravely hurt by the necessity of paying for their land at a time of financial depression. He said:

> Thousands of honest, hard-working farmers, who had invested their all in a few improvements, trusting to have an interim of some years between filing their declarations of settlement and the sale, and hoping in that time by industry, economy and perseverance to make enough to pay for their quarter-section, were by this act of persecution and oppression cheated out of their land, or forced to borrow money at high rates of interest, which will ultimately compel them to sell it, or keep them poor for years.[96]

Some Northern Protestants within the territory criticized certain of the Free-state land-speculation projects, notably the attempt by some Free-state men to name Minneola the future state capital. Charles Lines made his criticism public in one of his letters to the New Haven Palladium:

> About twenty [Free-state] persons are interested in the city [Minneola] speculation, and underlying the whole enterprise is a purpose to make the city the State Capital. The principal parties engaged in the scheme are influential members of the Legislature, who, it is supposed, intend to make fortunes out of the movement. We are informed that such plans are quite common in the West.[97]

Lines commented further that a pro-slavery group was interested in another city for the state capital, and that there was altogether "too much of this going on."[98] Isaac Goodnow wrote in his diary that he had talked to several of the persons involved in the same speculation: "Have spoken decidedly against Minneola speculations, & wash my hands from it!"[99]

The problem of ministers involving themselves in land capitalism was one area where some northern Protestant churchmen felt the need to speak out. Richard Cordley gave this assessment of the situation in 1858:

> . . . it is very difficult for the ministry to keep their "hands off." Ministers, metamorphosed into keen speculators--are strewn all over the territory. I count 14 ex ministers of various denominations about Lawrence . . . The preacher first seeks to get a home of his own which, of course is proper. But he finds the word home in Kansas a very expansive term. It may mean a log cabin seven by nine--or a claim--a few town shares, a saw mill, etc. I am convinced that the efficiency of our ministerial force is reduced at least one half by this division of its energies.[100]

Perhaps in response to the speculations of Charles Lovejoy and other Methodist ministers involved in land deals, the Kansas and Nebraska Annual Conference in 1860 passed the following resolution:

> Resolved, That it is the sense of the members of this Conference that they are decidedly and uncompromisingly opposed to any member of the Conference engaging in any secular pursuits which tends to injure the church, or his influence as a minister of the gospel; especially speculating in lands, or acting as land agents--running over the country hunting up corners, and vacant quarter sections of land, instead of preaching the gospel and being a man of one work. Carried by a vote of 39 ayes to 3 nays.[101]

Free-state leaders in general, and some of their northern Protestant colleagues and supporters in particular, by their interpretation, silence or personal behavior, managed to escape criticism of all but the most flagrant of abuses which financially hurt the less wealthy and less powerful Kansas settlers. As a point of legitimation, the explicit or tacit support of enterprise capitalism's behavior and effects in Kansas Territory once more illustrates the connection that existed between churchmen and emerging structures of the society in the making in Kansas. Far from being a theoretical or simply hopeful worldview, the idea that the church was best served by a northern-type "civilization," including the character of solid economic growth, seems to have been a genuine, operative and legitimating vision which certain northern Protestants placed at the disposal of the territory's economic leaders and its outside investors. That the few rather than the many were served seems to have been a point too abstruse to be bothered with, or simply was not recognized as a problem.

III. Indians and Their Lands

Before 1854, there were at least thirteen tribes or confederations of tribes of Indians in Kansas.[102] Some, like the Otoe, Missouri and Kansa tribes had lived or roamed on the land for several hundred years. Others like the Shawnee, Cherokee, Pottawatomie, Wyandot, Miami and various New York tribes had been moved there during the first half of the nineteenth century from various parts of the settled or about-to-be-settled parts of United States territory. The United States government had established reservations and in some cases, notably the Wyandots, "floating" land permits to be claimed when desired, and the whole of Kansas and present-day Oklahoma and Colorado was considered "Indian Territory," closed forever to white settlement. Many of the treaties made between the tribes and the federal government contained the promise that the lands set aside for tribal use in Kansas were to remain in tribal hands "as long as the grass grew or water run."[103] This was not to be the case as the land-hunger of the American whites continued to impel persons westward. Beginning in 1853 and throughout the territorial period, new treaties, cessions, and private land deals were undertaken which totally changed the face of the territory. In a continuation of white American practice toward the Indian, a collection of policies variously paternalistic, ill-conceived, confusing and hostile worked to the great disadvantage of Kansas Indians.

The welfare of Indians in Kansas was of little serious interest to those northern Protestants who figure in this study. Some of their expressions of sympathy were romantic and wistful concerning the passing of what was once a great people on the land. Just as often, expressions of racial and cultural antipathy appeared which explicitly stated that the land properly belonged to the white man and his civilization, and incidentally to those Indians who could adapt their ways to those of the whites. In the main, as with black persons and poorer settlers suffering at the hands of exploitive financiers and speculators, churchmen chose silence. Viewed as another point of legitimation, northern Protestants in Kansas helped shore up a system which did great harm to a minority group, the Indian tribes of Kansas. Sometimes they were interested in a personal profit, but most often they simply accepted the standard Indian policies as the ordinary course of events. The white man's civilization was, of course, the one these churchmen were part of, and the people they came to serve and convert were deeply interested in crowding the Indians out to make room for themselves. So it is not surprising that few voices dissented from this way of doing things.

1. Conditions for Indians in Kansas Territory

The basic story of the territorial years for most Indian tribes in Kansas was one of new treaties which included or preceded the extinguishment of their titles to the land they were occupying. In addition, illegal squatting on land not open to preemption and several private purchases of questionable legality and justice hastened the process by which whites came firmly into control of what had been Indian land. Living in an area which many hoped would be their home for good, tribes eventually found themselves moving away, representing yet another move for certain tribes relocated to Kansas from eastern tribal homelands.

Broken faith on the part of the U.S. government with regard to the Kansas tribes who had immigrated there demonstrated itself on March 3, 1853, when Congress authorized the Indian Office to negotiate "immediately" with those tribes for the cession of their reserves. It was demonstrated again on May 30, 1854, when it opened the territory to settlement before one acre of it was legally open to sale because of prior treaties with the Indians.[104] George Manypenny, the well-intentioned but naive Commissioner of Indian Affairs, soon persuaded a number of the Kansas tribes to accept a diminished portion of their reserves for permanent settlement, with the sale of the remaining land (to white settlers) subject to the approval of the Office of Indian Affairs. Manypenny hoped that the Indians, surrounded by a developing white civilization, would adapt their ways and become able to integrate themselves into that civilization.[105] White squatters, railroad planners, town planners and other speculators took advantage of this situation and the confusing array of federal land policies and practices to the great detriment of the Indians.

Even granting that the premise that monetary compensation for tribal lands was proper and the implication that all the tribes would become agriculture-oriented for their support was a sound projection, the actual prices paid and the means used to obtain much of the land had the overall effect of driving the Indians from Kansas or reducing them to the worst kind of poverty, absolutely dependent on government largesse for their means of support.

Even a limited treatment of specific treaties, land-sales and Indian removals is impossible to this study.[106] Suffice it to say, however, that Kansas is not extraordinary as an example of the impact of white policies and behavior toward Indians. By the 1870's, there were only three tribes left in Kansas, the rest having left the state or been driven out.

2. Northern Protestants and the Indians

To expect critique of prevailing policy toward Kansas Indians by northern Protestants would be a failure to recognize the ideas and images these persons brought with them to the territory. Most northern Protestants were in full agreement with the sentiment that responsibility toward Indians generally ended with realization of the two goals which many Indian missionaries pursued, evangelization and civilization.[107] It would not have occurred to most, except in a burst of pity, that such a policy was contributing to the decline and eradication of Indians and their culture. The churchmen's standard of worth was their own culture. Sara Robinson offered the following observation which bears this out:

> The Kaw Indians are the most uncultivated of all [the tribes], while the Shawnee have made good advances in civilisation. They have houses, cultivate their lands, and wear the dress of Americans.[108]

In the preface of her popular book, Mrs. Robinson exhibited an unconscious dismissal of the occupation of territorial lands by various tribes, when she said: "It is, indeed, difficult, to realise that for thousands of years this country has been a waste, uncultivated and solitary, and that months only have elapsed since the white settler has sought here a home."[109]

An extreme extension of the chauvinism common to most whites in Kansas may be found in the letters of Julia Lovejoy. In an 1856 letter, she commented on a group of Sacs through Lawrence. Of a tribe many thought might fight on the side of the pro-slavery forces in the territory, she commented: " . . . we hardly think [they] will dare to fight us, because they will lose their lands by so doing."[110] Mrs. Lovejoy's confidence in the hold whites possessed over Indians, that of taking their lands, was, at least in part, due to a set of values which assumed that Kansas was now white man's country. On a tour with her husband through the territory, she passed through the Kaw reservation, and noted the number of squatters illegally using the land. She added: " . . . the chiefs of the tribe were at Washington, imploring aid from Congress to drive off these intruders. This rich land is expected soon to be treated for, and then what a scramble for it!"[111] Given the Lovejoy interest in lands, Mrs. Lovejoy would seem to have an understandable bias favoring the increase of land-openings in the territory. But her judgment of Indians went deeper than the press of economic expectation; indeed, she could fairly be termed racist.

On passing through the lands of the Pottawatomie tribe, Julia noticed that, except for the Pottawatomie and their herds, the land was largely unoccupied. She commented:

> Thousands of acres of as rich land and choice timber as the sun ever shone upon, unoccupied, owned by these lazy Indians. O how many times we wished that poor working men in the East, who need farms, or poor Methodist preachers, who have always sung so truly, "No foot of land do I possess," could have the doors open to them here in this paradise, and find a home for their dependent families in their old age.[112]

Visiting a Catholic mission, Julia noted that its pastor had died several months before her visit, and added this observation:

> The beautiful farms around the mission gave evidence that the leader and guide was not there. The Indian will not work usually unless forced to it. Shall I here give some of the classical names of these Indian nabobs--"Sambo," "Johnnycake," "Blue-Jacket," "Greyeyes," &c. Every one can select 200 acres of land where he pleases in the tract appropriated to his tribe, and many of them own more cattle and horses than any New England farmer can boast of.[113]

On a boat journey up the Kaw River, the boat went aground at a certain settlement that Mrs. Lovejoy describes as being full of "Half-breed Indians and French Catholics of the baser sort; and if Pandemonium can produce a viler race than occupies that region--but I forbear."[114] Mrs. Lovejoy's forbearance was limited when it came to describing the Indians she resented for their occupation of lands she thought were better occupied by whites, and for their uncivilized ways. She presents an example of a northern Protestant whose moral sensibilities seem circumscribed, if not defined, by her cultural and theological worldview that white, Protestant, northern persons were superior and therefore deserved special consideration in terms of who would occupy and improve land, treaties and plural occupation of the territory notwithstanding. Other Free-state northern Protestants may have felt differently than did Mrs. Lovejoy, but with few exceptions, their silence seems rather to indicate either a fundamental approval of the policies and practices which drove most Indians from Kansas Territory, or the fact that they did not perceive Indian removal as a moral problem.

3. Sympathisers and Dissenters

Favorable attitudes toward Indians are rarely expressed in the writings of northern Protestants. The few who did express such feelings gave no indication that they thought it likely that their suggestions or sympathies could make any material difference. In terms of power, the weight was with those persons and institutions and events which overcame any possibility that the Kansas tribes might receive a just disposition of their lands and affairs in territorial Kansas.

Mrs. Charles Robinson, whom we previously noted for her unconscious chauvinism, did express pleasure that some Indian tribes favored the Free-staters. She noted the presence of certain Indian chiefs as the July 4th, 1855, celebration at Lawrence.[115] During the building crisis that led to the "Wakarusa War" of late 1855, she reported that the Shawnee and Delaware tribes had offered to help defend Lawrence from attack from the pro-slavery forces. She commented:

> While we would not accept aid from the Indians, knowing that it would furnish a pretext to the government for their extermination, their friendly feelings will go far towards sustaining the courage of any who might falter.[116]

William Goode, who was a Methodist presiding elder for the opening portion of the territorial period, had praise for his Wyandot fellow-Methodists, whom he felt were as sincere and faithful as any Christians he had ever met.[117] Goode, whose bishop directed him not to get involved in the claim business, lived on the Shawnee reservation for a time. His rented house was owned by the tribe.[118]

John McNamara, the first Episcopalian missionary in Kansas Territory, had little mention of the tribes in his book, Three Years on the Kansas Border. He did mention a Leavenworth land-scheme and by the language of his description indicated at least an indirect sympathy for Kansas Indians. The scheme was to get stockholders for the Leavenworth city group at four hundred dollars a share. McNamara continued: "Every shareholder must enter into bonds to help secure the title, i.e., to help rob the Delaware Indians of their land!"[119]

Two of the northern Protestants most sympathetic toward the Kansas tribes were George W. Brown, editor of the Herald of Freedom, and Charles Lines of the Connecticut Kansas colony at Waubaunsee. Brown editorialized in favor of full civil rights for Indians in an 1855 piece in his paper. He saw the Indians as really or potentially equal members of the society he envisioned Kansas would become. He said that Indians should be given civil rights as soon as a "wise and sound system of public instruction" could be started to produce intellectual fitness for such a civil position.[120] It could be argued that Brown's was simply a more humane expression of the common Christian view that Indians could only be acceptable to whites if they changed their culture into a copy of white culture. But Brown was at least willing to encourage his society's responsibility toward positively aiding Indians to attain that end.

Charles Lines expressed a similar sympathy to Brown's after having visited a store in Centropolis and seeing several Indians there. But he was not as hopeful that something might change things for the red man.

> There is something sad in moving among these remnants of the powerful tribes of other days, and witnessing their despondency as the *pale faces* are gradually crowding them from place to place, and so circumscribing their privileges and hemming them within narrow boundaries as to crush out the free spirit of their nature, and make them feel that between the deprivations of those natural rights which gave to their fathers the whole scope of the continent, and the impracticability of effecting a satisfactory "fusion" with their white masters, there is nothing left for them but to waste away and die.[121]

Lines' words, although probably reflecting much the same cultural view held by such people as George Brown, show that he had the insight and empathy to realize that Indians had very little future in Kansas Territory. A later letter to his New Haven newspaper reinforces his observations above. He spoke with an Indian miller and hotel-keeper, Jude W. Bourassa. Bourassa indicted the federal programs for Indians, and Lines summarized his words sympathetically: "He complains that the policy of the government toward the Indian tribes is very bad, calculated to prevent any progress among them, and to promote only indolence, pauperism and crime."[122] Lines' remarks are perhaps the most serious indictment of white policies toward Indians that any Free-state person ever uttered in print. And yet he saw no way out of his gloomy prognosis for Indians in the territory. With the exception of few missionaries to the Indians,

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no white northern Protestant spoke in behalf of the Indian in a manner that might make any difference.[123] Once more, legitimation had taken place by churchmen, through their silence, their complicity, or their inability to perceive and act on an injustice. When Indians were denied civil rights by a majority of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, another Free-state belief was allowed to triumph which had serious consequences for an underclass.[124]

As points of legitimation, the issues of black people, poorer white settlers and Indians in Kansas Territory reveal a confirmation of the pattern described in previous chapters. It has been shown that certain northern Protestants who became significant in the Kansas struggle arrived in the territory with a worldview that provided models of institutional and personal behavior considered normative and vested with the authority of religion to strengthen their normative character. It has further been shown that in the minds of these churchmen, the Free-state movement in Kansas became the chief embodiment and cutting-edge of that same worldview, thereby sharing in its "transcendent" character. That this led to self-righteousness and naivete was shown in the level of rhetoric and propaganda these same churchmen used when speaking of the movement to their fellow Free-staters and their sympathisers in the east. That this also led to the neglect of some basic injustices to persons in Kansas has been established in this chapter. The over-all impression that one receives from the northern Protestants of this study in connection with the three groups covered is one of silence. Probing that impression of silence, one finds exceptions, but also that speech or action on these problems simply did not appear to have been regarded as a responsibility consonant with the operative worldview. These northern Protestants in Kansas seem to have been both in and of their culture. They shared its prejudices and its blindspots and, often unconsciously, participated in shoring up policies and practices to benefit the group then coming to power there. To place this behavior in a perspective encompassing all the elements of this study, let us proceed to the conclusions which may be reached about the role of these northern Protestant churchmen in territorial Kansas.

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NOTES

[1] Cf. the various reports of church assemblies and denominational histories noted in Chapter One, especially references 22-31. 1859 and 1860 were excellent years for the Congregational and Methodist churches. Friends received more members due to immigration of co-religionists into the territory. Episcopalians were organized sufficiently to hold a diocesan organizing convention by 1860. Baptists, Lutherans and the Church of the Brethren, though in later years to reverse the trend, seemed either static or grew only very slowly.

[2] Larry O'Gara, "Who Was An Abolitionist," in: Martin Duberman, ed., *The Anti-Slavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1865), p. 46. Two previously cited books that deal with the race issue as it impinged on the Kansas struggle, particularly the racism of the Free-state movement, are Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery*, pp. 97-118, and, James A. Rawley, *Race and Politics*, *passim*.

[3] *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, April 5, 1856. Quoted in Leon Litwack, "The Negro Abolitionist," *The Anti-Slavery Vanguard*, p. 150.

[4] Cf. P.J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961). Two works give a perspective on anti-negro racism in the nineteenth-century: Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), especially Chapter Four, "Nineteenth-Century Anthropology," pp. 54-83; and H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But . . . : Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1972), especially Chapters Two and Three, pp. 74-165. Gossett demonstrates that in the debates over the human race as one or many species, most major thinkers on the issue "came more and more to believe that the Negro is innately inferior and that neither education nor environment can do much to improve him." (p. 54). Smith, though concerned, especially with southern racism, points out that relatively few northern churchmen, even anti-slavery ones, believed black people to be anything but inferior and therefore, certainly best separated from white people.

[5] Cf. John Brown, Jr., in his letter to *Frederick Douglass' Paper* (Rochester, New York), September 7, 1855, p. 3.

[6] *Herald of Freedom*, September 8, 1855, p. 2.

[7] Wilder, *Annals*, p. 93.

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 215-216.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Herald of Freedom*, July 18, 1859, p. 2.

[14] *Kansas Constitutional Convention*, p. 56.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 147.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 172, 174.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 292, 295, 300.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 298-299.

[26] *Herald of Freedom*, April 28, 1855, p. 4.

[27] Cf. See above.

[28] Diary of Isaac Goodnow, entry of January 11, 1857, *Goodnow Papers*.

[29] *Ibid.*, entry of April 2, 1858.

[30] *Herald of Freedom*, April 28, 1855, p. 4.

[31] *Ibid.*, June 23, 1855.

[32] Quoted in a letter of Walden to his uncle, June 25, 1858. *John M. Walden Correspondence and Papers*, KSHS, microfilm of original mss.

[33] Freedom's Champion, April 24, 1858, p. 4. See also issues of October 2, 1858, p. 1; and October 23, 1858, p. 1.

[34] Ibid., January 22, 1859, p. 2; February 5, 1859, p. 1.

[35] Ibid., June 18, 1859, p. 2.

[36] Ibid., August 27, 1859, p. 1.

[37] Ibid., September 3, 1859, p. 1.

[38] Richard Cordley, "Lizzie and the Underground Railroad," reprinted in: Everett Rich, ed., The Heritage of Kansas: Selected Commentaries on Past Times (Lawrence et al: The University Press of Kansas, 1970), pp. 50-56.

[39] "Letters of the New Haven Connecticut Kansas Colony," KHQ, vol. 22, p. 180. On Harvey as part of the Underground Railroad, cf. Stephen Jackson Spear, "Reminiscences of the Early Settlement of Dragoon Creek, Waubaunsee County," KSHS Coll., vol. 13, p. 353.

[40] Cf. "Reminiscence of Nathan Henshaw," Mendenhall Papers.

[41] Wilder, Annals, p. 86.

[42] Letter of Paul Shepherd, June 15, 1858, AHMS Papers: Kansas.

[43] Ibid., letter of S.D. Storrs, July 9, 1858.

[44] Reprinted in Lindquist, art. cit., KHQ, vol. 25, p. 415.

[45] "Letters of J.L. Lovejoy," KHQ, vol. 16, pp. 60-61.

[46] One of the white men who helped escort the blacks from Lawrence, was arrested by Missourians and tried by a court in St. Joseph, Missouri. Nute helped organize his escape and safe return to Kansas. Cf. James B. Abbott, "The Rescue of John W. Doy," KSHS Coll., vol. 4, pp. 312-315.

[47] "Letters of J.L. Lovejoy," KHQ, vol. 16, pp. 60-61.

[48] Wilder, Annals, p. 48.

[49] Frederick Douglass' Paper, September 7, 1855, p. 3.

[50] Ibid., October 19, 1855, p. 2.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Frederick Douglass' Monthly, August, 1859, p. 115.

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[54] The Liberator, vol. 26, p. 6. Quoted in: Wendell P. Garrison & Francis Jackson Garrison, William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879: The Story of His Life Told By His Children; Volume III, 1841-1860 (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1894), pp. 418-419.

[55] Ibid., pp. 438-439. Taken from The Liberator, vol. 26.

[56] Ibid., p. 444. From The Liberator, vol. 26, p. 166.

[57] One angle of vision on the Christian stance toward capitalism in this age is that of William Appleman Williams, The Contours of American History (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966), especially pages 225-295. Williams speaks of the period (1819-1896) as the era of "laissez nous faire," in which an attitude of reverence for competition and growth became embedded in American society, which attitude was quite commonly supported by churchmen. H. Richard Niebuhr finds that the Calvinist heritage did, as Weber said, influence capitalism; but he observes that as time went on, "inconvenient elements" of Calvin's thought gave way to the abandonment of restrictive social ethics and a celebration of individualism that suited the drives of the commercial class. Salvation by character became a watchword. Cf. The Social Sources of Denominationalism, edition cited, pp. 77-105.

[58] The best over-all picture of Kansas' territorial economic situation is to be found in Gates, Fifty Million Acres. An extremely helpful analysis of the situation from the point of view of banking and currency is George L. Anderson, "Some Phases of Currency and Banking in Territorial Kansas," Territorial Kansas (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1954), pp. 103-147. A study which concludes to the destitution of the territory is, John L. Madden, "The Financing of a New Territory: The Kansas Territorial Tax Structure, 1854-1861," KHQ, vol. 35, pp. 155-164. James Malin concluded, also, that Kansas operated on a deficit economy through the 1870's: "Notes on the Writing of General Histories of Kansas," KHQ, vol. 21, p. 338.

[59] Gates, op. cit., pp. 1-3. A Quaker pioneer, William H. Coffin, confirms this point at a local level. He recalled that combines of Free-state and pro-slavery settlers operated at the 1856 Leavenworth land sale. See Coffin, "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas," KSHS Coll., vol. 7, p. 347.

[60] "Letters of J.L. Lovejoy," KHQ, vol. 15, pp. 280-281.

[61] Ibid., pp. 373-375.

[62] Ibid., p. 392.

[63] Ibid., KHQ, vol. 16, p. 56.

[64] Spear, "Reminiscences," KSHS Coll., vol. 13, p. 349.

[65] Paul W. Gates, "Land and Credit Problems in Underdeveloped Kansas," KHQ, vol. 31, pp. 42-43.

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[66] Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[67] Ibid., p. 3. Thomas Conway's letters, referred to in Chapter Two, give one indication of the financial power that outside investors wielded during the period of federal land sales in the territory.

[68] Gates, art. cit., p. 47. Cf. pp. 53-54 for statistics on the great number of foreclosures in several counties in the territory.

[69] Lindquist, art. cit., p. 320. Quoting a letter of September 18, 1857.

[70] Blood to Badger, April 6, 1857, AHMS Papers: Kansas.

[71] Ibid., Lum to Badger, January 20, 1858.

[72] "Letters of S.Y. Lum," KHQ, vol. 22, p. 21.

[73] Ibid.

[74] "Letters of the New Haven Connecticut Kansas Colony," KHQ, vol. 22, p. 21. Letter of April 18, 1856.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., pp. 145-146. Letter of May 30, 1856.

[77] "Letters of J.L. Lovejoy," KHQ, vol. 15, p. 139.

[78] Ibid., KHQ, vol. 16, p. 58.

[79] Ibid., KHQ, vol. 15, p. 127.

[80] Ibid., pp. 140, 298.

[81] Ibid., pp. 290-291.

[82] Ibid., p. 293.

[83] Letter from Hale to Nute, March 1, 1855. Quoted in Denton, art. cit., p. 320.

[84] Ibid., p. 460. Cf. also Herald of Freedom, March 28, 1856.

[85] Denton, art. cit., p. 480.

[86] Diary of Isaac Goodnow, entry of April 19, 1857. Goodnow Papers.

[87] Wilder, Annals, pp. 142-143.

[88] Shaw, op. cit., p. 39.

[89] Ibid., pp. 42-43, 47.

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[90] Cf. the article and book of Samuel Johnson, previously cited.

[91] Wilder, Annals, p. 149.

[92] Gates, op. cit., pp. 96-97.

[93] "Letters of S.Y. Lum," KHQ, vol. 25, p. 52.

[94] Robinson, op. cit., p. 44.

[95] McNamara, op. cit., p. 59.

[96] Freedom's Champion, July 14, 1860. Quoted in Gates, op. cit., p. 85. In that same issue, Martin joined other Republican papers in expressing hostility toward land speculators when he said: "Keep away sharks! We give you fair warning." Quoted in Gates, art. cit., p. 58.

[97] "Letters of the New Haven Connecticut Kansas Colony," KHQ, vol. 22, p. 16.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Diary of Isaac Goodnow, entry of March 20, 1858. Goodnow Papers.

[100] Holter, op. cit., p. 65.

[101] Ibid., p. 66.

[102] Anna Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Title," KSHS Transactions, vol. 8 (1903-1904), pp. 72-109.

[103] Quoted in Gates, op. cit., p. 15.

[104] Ibid., pp. 3, 15-16.

[105] Ibid., pp. 17-19.

[106] Indispensable to a study of how land policies in Kansas worked in such a way as to benefit the few rather than the many is, once again, Gates' Fifty Million Acres. His first two chapters document the land situation in Kansas from the point of view of the procurement of Indian lands in various ways. An interesting account of the disposal of a small, valuable property held by a Kansas tribe is Gates', "A Fragment of Kansas Land History: The Disposal of the Christian Indian Tract," KHQ, vol. 6, pp. 227-240. In his Fifty Million Acres, pp. 111-112, Gates notes that this particular tract was purchased by men who gave $43,400.00 for it; Gates maintains the fair price was much closer to $100,000.00. Abel's article, cited above, is a good overview of the title extinguishment of the reservations of all Kansas tribes. An exhaustive study of the use and misuse of Wyandot "floats," or open land claims, is: Homer E. Socolofsky, "Wyandot Floats," KHQ, vol. 36, pp. 241-304. Of particular

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interest to this study in both the Socolofsky study and the Gates book is the extensive involvement of Charles Robinson and Samuel Pomeroy in land deals that quite often were with Indian tribes and landlords. The story of how the merchants of a single town illegally erected their places of business on land of the Kansa tribe, while depending heavily on Kansa money granted by the federal government is: William E. Unrau, "The Council Grove Merchants and Kansa Indians: 1855-1870," KHQ, vol. 34, pp. 266-281.

[107] Handy, op. cit., pp. 83-84.

[108] Robinson, op. cit., p. 30. Gossett, op. cit., develops an overall picture of the racism of most American whites against Indians in the nineteenth-century. Cf. pp. 228-252.

[109] Ibid., p. 3.

[110] "Letters of J.L. Lovejoy," KHQ, vol. 15, p. 132.

[111] Ibid., p. 310.

[112] Ibid., p. 378.

[113] Ibid., p. 379.

[114] Ibid., p. 369.

[115] Robinson, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

[116] Ibid., pp. 120-121.

[117] Goode, op. cit., pp. 294, ff.

[118] Ibid., p. 279. Goode's opinion of the Shawnee tribe was probably modified by an incident that happened after he had been living on the reservation for some time. Goode was threatened with violence if he did not leave his house; he put down the threat by sitting at his writing desk with a readily visible loaded revolver.

[119] McNamara, op. cit., p. 22.

[120] Herald of Freedom, January 6, 1855, p. 2.

[121] "Letters of the New Haven Connecticut Kansas Colony," KHQ, vol. 22, p. 17.

[122] Ibid., p. 28.

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[123] Gates, "A Fragment of Kansas Land History," KHQ, vol. 6, pp. 235ff., cites Gottleib Oehler, a Moravian missionary to the Christian Indians as having tried to fight the land sale worked by Andrew Isaacs, which Oehler claimed defrauded the tribe.

[124] Strangely enough, it was largely Democrats who pressed for Indian suffrage and education. Cf. Kansas Constitutional Convention, pp. 112, 292, 513ff.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SILENCE OF THE GOOD

For most of the Northern Protestants examined in this study, the work of keeping Kansas free of slavery was valuable, even divinely-approved work. The electoral success of the Free-state party, and later the Republican party, led to the symbolic embodiment of their hopes in the non-slavery provision of the Wyandotte Constitution, ratified by Congress in 1861. But if a wider view is taken of the emergent structures in the territory, political, economic, and social, the victory of the Free-state movement in making Kansas a free state was at least ambiguous. The ambiguity is most clear from the vantage point of the underclasses in the territory. But on another level the ambiguity made itself felt to the politically active northern Protestants. This is in the area of their hopes for a Christian civilization. I believe that the study has shown that the theologically-based visions of what a civilization ought to be operated not only to sustain these churchmen, but also to sustain and legitimate persons whose interests were far narrower than their clerical and lay brethren of the Northern Protestant churches. Charles Robinson's remarks quoted in Chapter Two about religion's being essential to good order and prosperity take on a different meaning in the light of his record in speculative and railroad activities. The high myths and wide vision of the most eloquent Northern Protestants in the territory appear greatly compromised by what many of their allies in the Free-state movement did in social and economic areas. Unwittingly, perhaps, the good offices of men who viewed the Kansas struggle as a religious battleground became useful to men whose interests were far more profitable and power-oriented than those of the churchmen.

I believe that the study may best be summed up under the headings which I suggest in an appended essay are appropriate categories of convergence between American religious history and general American history when done from a radical perspective. Within these categories of choice, prophecy, legitimation and justice I believe that the vision, dynamics and limitations of the politically active Northern Protestants in Kansas Territory may best be viewed.

I. Choice: The Ethical Contexts

The contexts of ethical decision which the northern Protestants of this study experienced were three: their Christian communities which often laid on them the burden of increasing the ranks of their denomination as a primary task; their own theological visions, most of which included some kind of reform thrust; and third, the vision of "civilization," or society ordered around values like education, common morality, prosperity, temperance and, for many, the erection of communities modeled after New England towns and villages. A sufficient number of northern Protestants in Kansas Territory saw good and evil in these pastoral, theological and socio-economic terms to give their ethical decisions a certain consistency and harmony, especially well-illustrated by the range of churchmen who actively supported the Free-state movement. For example, that Samuel Lum and Ephraim Nute could bury their intense dislike of each other's ministries to support a common moral standard for Kansas communities as well as the victory of the Free-state forces in Kansas indicates the presence of a moral standard which underlay, or was at least able to transcend some real differences between churchmen. Denominational rivalries, different tactics of evangelization and antipathies between individual churchmen in a very real sense were subordinate to these common goals for Kansas Territory.

Placed against the background of mid-century northern Protestantism, what these churchmen did and did not do was consistent with both theology and ecclesiastical practice at the time. Theologically, the convergence of ideas on free will and the effort to hasten the reign of Christ by shaping a more decent and humane society were planks in a theological platform that most of the northern Protestants stood upon. This cluster of ideas and values reflected a new unity that northern Protestants were experiencing, a unity which rendered moot certain theological controversies of years past. What counted, among other ideas, was the common hope that a particular kind of civilization be built. In terms of ecclesiastical style, these churchmen reflected the double motivation that one should strive to build up one's own denomination, and simultaneously work with fellow Christians to build the hoped-for civilization in which churches and believers could flourish.

The visions and values of the persons examined in this study were strong ones, and they were strongly held. Such strength of vision and commitment tended to narrow the range of options they experienced. In a positive sense, such strength offered persons a clear perspective and relatively firm platform on which to stand and face the challenges of infidelity, immorality and violent conflict. In a negative sense, such strength also excluded other activities or attitudes, excluding as well an openness to self-criticism of the broad impact of the work of churchmen and their allies. In short, the admirable strength of vision operated in large measure to restrict the ethical options and narrow the ethical focus to certain commonly-held goals, chiefly "civilization," and the victory of the Free-state movement.

The moral agenda of these Northern Protestants allowed them to spend their energies variously on the building up of their respective church communities, the encouragement of reforms in the personal areas (especially temperance and education), personal and community material success, and the prevention of slavery in the future state of Kansas. Psychologically speaking, I believe this was experienced as a full agenda, and to a large extent it is understandable that other areas would not make themselves felt as moral challenges or would not be seen as among the chief responsibilities. For example, preventing the extension of slavery into Kansas Territory might well be viewed as a more important goal than the guarantee of rights for blacks there. Or, as another example, the building of an economic base for the territory might be viewed as a more pressing need than the protection of impoverished settlers from unjust frontier capitalists.

The final dimension of moral demand as experienced by the Northern Protestants we have surveyed is the positive reinforcement supplied by their allies in eastern states and in the Free-state movement.

When these churchmen worked for such goals as free Kansas, community material progress, and institutions like schools and churches themselves, they received support. The support of churchmen and non-churchmen alike in the territory was more than matched by individuals and organizations in the states who offered encouragement and financial support. Taken together with the ideological vision of civilization which the churchmen shared with many of their fellow Kansans, this support-group positively reinforced the moral agenda they acted upon. But this also limited the options of the churchmen within bounds that would be acceptable to their allies and supporters. The vision of civilization and the tangible approval and support of other persons did allow for the churchmen to participate in the alliance which achieved the victory of the Free-state movement. But it also meant that prophetic challenges to the moral agenda and behavior within the territory would be unlikely or, at best, ineffective.

II. Prophecy: The Range and Limits of Dissent

The potential for prophetic critique within Kansas Territory lay in three groups; the undergroups, namely poor whites, Indians and black men there; the Northern Protestants sympathetic to those three groups, as well as those critical of their own group's behavior; and radicals and dissenters outside the territory. It is illuminating of the situation and the controls within the territory that only the last group produces a significant critique of the Free-state movement and its Protestant members and allies.

Generally speaking, and understandably, the undergroups did not speak out against their oppressors, at least in ways that would reach print

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or be recorded for the public at large. Black persons were accorded the status of less-than-white by at least a two-to-one majority within the Free-state ranks, if the vote on the Topeka Constitution is indicative. Thus their reactions, if any, reached white ears, could be discounted, or at least subsumed under what Free-staters perceived as the all-important goal of keeping Kansas free of slavery. Indians, too, generally lacked access to the white public. Jude Bourassa's lament for his fellow-Indians, as recorded by George Brown in his newspaper, was the single example of Indian criticism of white policies which this writer uncovered in the Free-state press. As for the poor whites, their struggle was only reflected through the writings of sympathetic newspaper reporters. When they did speak, as Stephan Jackson Spear did in a later reminiscence, a resentment of their lot was evident. In all, however, little in the way of direct comment, prophetic or otherwise, came from the ranks of the underclasses.

Within the territory, public supporters of the underclasses were few, and their words and actions were largely ineffective. For example, while there seemed to be a group in and around Lawrence interested in securing civil rights for black persons, their words generally did not reach print, and various votes taken on that issue indicated their lack of strength in the Free-state movement and the territory as a whole. Among the Northern Protestants who were sympathetic to blacks, Indians and poor whites (though not necessarily all three groups together), there was the counterforce of the strong ideology which prevailed among their fellow-churchmen and political allies. As described in the previous section, the vision of "civilization," and the righteousness of the Free-state movement combined with a network of support to limit the sights and, in the process, restrict the acceptable public attitudes of the Northern churchmen. The complaint of a handful of missionaries to their boards that their fellow-Kansans were involved in racist behavior indicates some of the limitations and pressures experienced by the most sympathetic of the Northern Protestants. Fellow-churchmen, clerical and lay, with their interests and sometimes their *stake*, in maintaining the *status quo* within the territory, were also a counter-pressure to prophetic criticism. Finally a Northern Protestant challenging his fellow Kansans on their behavior or impact would be confronting great and imbedded habits and institutions such as racism, the press of white civilization and certain vested interests within the American economic structure. Taken together, all of these things operated to discourage prophetic criticism in the ranks of the Northern Protestant churchmen, and also to absorb or stifle the voices of those few who did engage in such criticism.

Outside radicals, such as the abolitionists Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison, may well have had the clearest vision of what was happening to the underclasses in the territory. Their analysis, too, of the limited interests of the Free-state movement's members was probably nearer the mark than the movement's own propagandists would care to admit. But the outside radicals suffered from two things that limited their effectiveness: they *were* outside the territory, and they were branded both there and in the states as extremists. John Martin's remarks on the abolitionists who opposed the white-suffrage provisions of the Wyandotte Constitution, and the Free-state party's frequent denial of abolitionism or negro-equality values illustrate why outside radicals could have little hope of influencing the territorial situation.

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Of the three groups from whom a prophetic critique of the territorial situation might be expected, only the last, the outside radicals, mounted anything like a sustained critical analysis of the situation and its conditions. Working against an alliance of churchmen and settlers and outside supporters, prophetic critics, or those who might have become such, had small chance of changing attitudes or behavior. If an ability to respond creatively to the "gadflies" is the mark of a healthy society, Kansas territorial society in general and the northern churchmen of this study in particular, do not measure up.

III. Legitimation

By their vision, their associations and in some instances, their economic interests, a significant group of Northern Protestants in Kansas Territory functioned to legitimate the Free-state movement in the minds of many Kansans and many northerners living stateside. By the same vision, associations and interests, the emergent social, economic and political order in part under the leadership of members of that movement was also legitimated by churchmen. Whether through active, vocal support or their silence on certain issues, these Northern Protestants gave their blessing, direct or implied, not only to the organizing and sustaining activities of the Free-state movement, but also to activities, laws and policies that affected all Kansans. In many instances, these activities, laws and policies were particularly injurious to poor white settlers, Indians and black persons in the territory. To understand how these churchmen, in association with the builders of the primary structures of Kansas Territory, contributed to that society's legitimation, it is necessary to understand how worldview,

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the ideological image of civilization, associations, interests and the "means of transmission" of acceptable social values interacted at that time and place.

To take the last first, the means of transmission of acceptable and socially-approved values and interpretations were often the words and lives of churchmen in the territory and their supporters stateside. The means might be directly ecclesiastical, such as sermons, Sunday schools, ministerial alliances, prayer meetings, invocations, stateside church papers and journals, missionary journals and denominational conventions. In the context of defining their specifically "religious" identity and ideology, even when this was viewed as a chief goal, many Kansas churchmen of the Protestant denominations also defined themselves in these media as standing in favor of "civilization," and the Free-state movement. The elements of the "civilization" vision included models of what the good society was: prosperous, orderly, temperate, church-going (that is, Protestant) and free of slavery. In addition to the directly ecclesiastical media, this same vision and stance was communicated to Kansans by Northern Protestant churchmen through secular media and the support of outside groups, both ecclesiastical and secular. These included newspapers (territorial and stateside), convention and public-meeting speeches, and organized aid groups such as the Emigrant Aid societies and the Kansas committees.

In short, the means of communication available to Kansans sympathetic to northern and Free-state goals were often utilized by Northern Protestants in direct or indirect support of both the emergent society in the territory and the Free-state movement. By their lives,

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their associates and allies, their ideological and sometimes economic interests, a good number of these churchmen granted legitimation to political values and attitudes, economic structures and practices and the attempted legal embodiment of certain racial attitudes. A coalescence of interests prevailed that was often literal in its linkage, as when a town lot for a church would be offered to an acceptable clergyman, or when leading townsmen would reward what they perceived as faithful service by a letter of commendation to a particular minister's missionary board. Some churchmen, recognizing the possibly compromising nature of this coalescence, nonetheless traded on it. So long as churches were being built, schools planned or operating and church-approved mores respected by community leaders, no strong word of criticism came from these churchmen. Indeed, just the opposite occurred; under such circumstances, many churchmen warmly praised the society-building activity of their fellow community-members.

That their silence and their praise was inimical to the interests of poor whites, blacks and Kansas Indians seems not to have occurred to most of the Northern Protestants surveyed in this study. The selective perception which their vision allowed for, their own churchly interests, and their associates and allies in their communities and the Free-state movement worked together to encourage this. In terms of these things, it becomes easier to understand how and why these Northern Protestants played the legitimating role they did.

IV. Justice (Power and Wealth)

Contemporary critics of the Kansas struggle frequently threw up the charge that supporters of the Free-state movement were "higher-law" men. In the eyes of these critics, many Free-staters operated on the principle that if a higher value was seen to be present in a conflict, laws and political orders might be transcended. To a large extent, the existence of the symbolic government under the Topeka Constitution, however limited its authority, lends substance to the correctness of the charge. In the name of what they conceived to be justice, or "freedom," (a more frequently used key-word) Free-staters chose to operate at least to some extent beyond federal and territorial law. The withholding of taxes, the votes and legislative assemblies of the Topeka government and the continuing stream of propaganda against the federal and territorial administrations indicates some of the depth of resentment many Free-staters felt towards the governmental authorities. Within such a sense of justice as underlay this resistance, the parameters of concern seldom went beyond the white majority, and were limited even within that group.

Unlike older and more established areas, Kansas Territory presents a picture of an arena in which power-groups had not yet become firmly established, in which social, economic and political relationships were being formed in conflict and struggle. By 1859, the year of the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention, control of the territory in economic and political terms lay chiefly in the hands of the Free-state movement (which politically had become the Republican party) and its supporters. Questions of justice had been practically settled by the political and economic hegemony of the Free-staters.

As we have seen, an important part of the victory of the Free-state forces was the active support, and in some cases, leadership, given by certain northern Protestant churchmen. Viewed against the background of emerging political and economic structures within the territory from 1854 to 1859, the relative infrequency of critical comment by these churchmen with regard to policies and practices of their Free-state allies is significant. In a situation where their words often carried great weight, churchmen often seemed most at home with the roles of boosters or legitimators or even participants in the structures of political and economic power. In other words, there was a convergence of the sense of justice of both the leaders and members of the Free-state movement and their Northern Protestant allies in both ideological and practical ways. Perhaps nowhere is this more clear than in the situation and legal, economic and social status of black people, Indians and poor white settlers.

Black persons were very nearly excluded from Kansas both by the Topeka movement and the Wyandotte Constitutional Convention. In the latter case, the delegates often seemed more interested in the national impact of an exclusion clause than in any inherent rightness of refusing to include it in the constitutional text. In general, the territorial period in Kansas does not exhibit many public challenges to the prevailing American attitude that blacks were somewhat less than human, and were certainly to be denied the status of citizen. The hatred and fear that underlay such an attitude was hardly challenged in any substantive sense by any major figure within the Free-state ranks, including churchmen. Protection of rights to education, control of movement and suffrage were seen by most to be appropriate only for the white majority. While some Kansans might risk their lives and freedom by participating in underground railroad activities or the rescue of kidnapped blacks (like Leavenworth's Charley Fisher), few would extend their concerns to public political activity in behalf of black rights.

The various Indian tribes in Kansas faced an all-too-familiar situation of resettlement, land-forfeiture and disrespect on the part of white persons in both official and unofficial capacities. The 1853 Congressional abrogation of supposedly iron-clad treaties set the tone for what followed. Gradually and inexorably, Kansas tribes lost their lands, often at a fraction of market value and often, too, not able to make the transition to a style of living in which money would be significant for their security in the long run. The great prejudice against non-Christian and non-"civilized" Indians also operated to discourage assimilation into the dominant white culture and even worked against the possibility of peaceful coexistence. Among Kansans generally, there may have been more persons sympathetic to the Indians than to black persons, but this did not prevent a situation of great injustice from working its harm. Once again, few in the northern Protestant churches spoke or acted against their community's standards.

Among the poorer farmers and other settlers in Kansas territory, the pre-Homestead Act land situation and conditions within Kansas operated to their great disadvantage. Besides difficult natural conditions of weather and land-preparation, these persons faced an unsympathetic national administration under the Democrats, inflated prices for necessities like seed, and most harmfully, the problem of having to purchase their land when their money was often dangerously depleted. Many settlers who would otherwise have stayed in Kansas were forced to return to their original homes because of inability to pay for the land some had worked for three or more years, or inability to pay the usurious loan rates to Kansan and non-Kansan capitalists. While the in-territory protest against such capitalists was more vocal than in the other two examples, most of the Free-state political leaders and their northern Protestant allies did not raise any objection to such harmful practices. Indeed, some of the chief leaders, like Charles Robinson, were involved in such transactions themselves, in Robinson's case, on behalf of himself and persons working with him in the interests of railroads.

Politically-active Northern Protestants were, for the most part, publically silent with respect to the problems these three groups faced in Kansas Territory. It is not unfair to say that for most of these persons, conditions for these groups were not even privately perceived as ethical problems, challenging their sense of what was right and wrong. Ideology and group-pressure led most of these northern Protestants to spend their energies on church-building, personal reform and Free-state work (in varying ways and with differing emphases). In many cases, the activities in which these persons worked were carried on with a strong sense of righteousness and divine approval. Such persons knew themselves to be doing good as Christians and as citizens of Kansas Territory. The handful aware of problems in one or more of the three areas either stayed silent or bowed to the pressure of their fellow Free-staters and churchmen.

V. Alternatives?

What else might have reasonably been expected? If indeed these churchmen were so firmly committed to a certain worldview and so tangibly supported as they sought to work out its imperatives, and if they were also caught up in a demanding set of practical tasks, could they have done more or said more for the underclasses? Here is the heart of the historian's judgment: with all the qualifying, evidentiary and temporal safeguards, can one still have looked for a greater attention to problems which may appear clearly only to a later generation? In answering this question in the affirmative, I seek to close my study of these churchmen.

Staughton Lynd has reminded his fellow historians that men can be beasts or brothers at any level of technological development. One could absolutize any number of "causes," including the behavioral norms operative among Kansas Territory's northern Protestant churchmen--and in so doing, neglect the real dimension of felt freedom in which the historical actor operated. In these terms, the men and women whom this study focused upon cannot be approached as if they were moral puppets at the hands of some force or cause. They chose, at least in some measure, to operate as they did. Their enthusiasm for a large part of what they chose to identify with and support is partial evidence of their own sense of freely choosing their destiny. What else, again, might have been done, or at least said?

First, one might reasonably have expected a greater sense of the ambiguity in their behavior with reference to the underclasses. Those ministers and other churchmen who did speak out against the contradictions of crying, "Freedom," and supporting a Black Law, for example, are exceptions that prove the rule. Hope, as a mark of their common vision and personal expectation, seemed to have diverted their eyes from the real situation of injustice and need that was the lot of the territory's underclasses. The gospel that these persons based their lives upon contains enough warnings against hypocrisy and short-sightedness to have been the occasion for some sense that the forward thrust of the Free-state movement and the erection of the socio-economic-political structure of Kansas society was flawed by evils besides intemperance and Sabbath-breaking.

Secondly, the northern Protestants of Kansas Territory might reasonably have been expected to have had more vocal "prophets and gadflies," in their midst. That so few came forward is in one respect surprising--given the depth of the reform currents then running in so much of northern Protestantism in the states. True, as with much of the reform sentiment in American Christianity, the focus of many reformers' energy was on the personal rather than the social or political realm. Perhaps one can easily place Kansas Territory against the backdrop of general anti-black and anti-Indian values of American society, but the problems of poorer whites in the territory seem to this writer to have been closer to what one might have expected as being among the legitimate and approved concerns for these churchmen. Even this area, however, was neglected. Given the possibility that poorer whites were a potential constituency for the northern churches, more latitude would certainly have been granted than perhaps would have been granted in the matter of blacks and Indians. But few tested what apparently were the acceptable boundaries.

Finally, one might have expected the genuine heroism occasionally exhibited by the northern Protestant Free-staters to have more often been extended into the area of the injustices visited upon the underclasses.

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Heroism was present in the spirit of political dissent which led to federal imprisonment, in perseverance in the face of violence, and in the courage of those who aided slaves escaping through Kansas Territory. That the Free-state constituency was largely racist, anti-Indian and led by capital-minded men seems to have acted as a major brake on extensions of that heroism into other areas. Perhaps risking peer-disapproval by sharers of the same worldview seemed much more difficult than standing up to Slave-state mobs and pro-slavery governments. It is more difficult to chasten allies than enemies, or to speak more sympathetically, to see that oneself and one's allies might need chastening at all.

In terms of history and historiography, the inquiry as to what the silence of these churchmen meant and what else might have reasonably been expected has led to one significant conclusion. The conclusion that must be drawn is that the very reform impulse that led these persons to identify with the Free-state movement and the building of a prosperous Kansas seems to have contained its own factor of limitation; that is, to accomplish the Free-state goal and the building of a prosperous, orderly society a political base was erected which operated most successfully when its members' prejudices and interests were not substantially threatened or challenged. What was felt to be the outrage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the threat of slavery's extension occasioned the northern Protestant participation in the Free-state movement. What were believed to be the marks of "civilization," including or subsumed under the evangelical, church-building impulse set the agenda for the wider work of these same churchmen. In both instances, mechanisms for the exclusion of the underclasses were operating. In legitimating the Free-state movement and the emergent political and social structures, the churchmen of this study so enthusiastically and effectively pursued their political and religious goals, they must be said to have been real, if unconscious facilitators of the mechanism of exclusion and injustice. That there were few real heroes or heroines among them in light of the injustices must be balanced with the observation that there were few real villains, either. These northern Protestant churchmen sought to do right to God and man in light of what they firmly believed was right. That their actions also aided injustice was a perception obscured by the very dynamism of their convictions.

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APPENDIX I

RADICAL HISTORIOGRAPHY AND AMERICAN RELIGIOUS HISTORY: TOWARDS A NEW PERSPECTIVE

The meaning of the American past is a grail-like thing sought after by successive generations of professional and amateur historians. Each generation of historians has had those among them willing to claim an ultimacy or newness or both for their particular angle of vision. But it seems that scarcely do the echoes of some new "Eureka!" fade away when another is sounded with equal fervor, castigating the previous approaches and announcing a new horizon of vision guaranteeing full entry into the meaning of the past. The more modest practitioners of the historian's craft would never countenance such pretensions, of course, but their voices are more naturally subdued than their excited colleagues who are votaries of the latest new approach. In presenting this essay, the writer wishes to make clear that he does not imagine he has wrought a completely new thing, achieved an Olympian perspective or made some new fire to burn brightly for eons. Instead, he has gathered some strands of meaning from contemporary scholarship, that is, American history, American religious history, and the sociology of knowledge, and woven them into something he hopes will be a perspective on the American past valuable to the present and to the future. If the resultant fabric may be worn comfortably by others, albeit altered, dyed or completely rewoven, so

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much the better. It is, at any rate, the cloth this American religious historian wears with more comfort and usefulness than the products of other weavers.

I am suggesting in this essay that a recent development in American historiography, the radical or new left perspective, may be useful to the American religious historian and that the radical historian has something to learn from the perspective of American religious history. In seeking to develop a radical perspective for American religious history, I discuss that field's major stages of development, the radical perspective in recent American historiography, the components of a perspective drawing on several sources, and some attendant problems of meaning and method. My point in developing this radical perspective is to offer one thoughtful approach to the American past. My belief and hope is that such a perspective also affords at least the beginnings of a wisdom about the present and future for Americans. While one may not claim a relevance of the past for the present too quickly or cheaply, this writer would stand with those historians who profess that history may provide angles of vision on experiences at least analogous to our present ones. To the extent that the analogies are probed deeply enough for their similarities to and differences from our present situation, they can become part of our usable past and not simply our interesting past.

I. Approaches to American Religious History

In a recent article surveying the growth and development of the history of religion in America, Jerald C. Brauer suggests that the field has moved through at least three major stages of development.[1] Brauer characterizes each stage as different both in content and methodology, and goes on to suggest that other basic directions may offer the field some fresh perspectives.

Brauer sees the first stage characterized by a developmental or church growth approach. In what was essentially a Protestant perspective, much weight was given to the distinction between "evangelical" (conversion-oriented) and "non-evangelical" churches. Representatives of this stage were people such as Robert Baird, Phillip Schaff and Daniel Dorchester. The content of their work leaned heavily toward viewing favorably seasons of revival and increase of members in the Protestant evangelical churches. Its presuppositions would include the superiority of those groups' doctrines and practices. Methodologically, some of their most important sources were the membership and related statistics each church provided.[2]

The second stage in American religious historiography (once again, strongly Protestant), Brauer terms the "environmental" one. This perspective emphasized the American environment, particularly the frontier, as the major shaping factor in the values and forms of this country's religion. Peter Mode and William Warren Sweet typified this second stage. Its content was weighted heavily in favor of the frontier periods of American history, and its presuppositions and methodology closely tied to the "frontier school" of American history launched by Frederick Jackson Turner.[3]

The third stage, still much in evidence according to Brauer, is the "church history" school. It has been characterized by two emphases. The first was a serious treatment of religious and theological themes, especially the manifold ecclesiologies of American religious groups. Sweet's "methodistic" bias was found inadequate. The second emphasis was a methodological concern for dealing with the complex context in which American religion has grown.[4] Theology and economics, church statistics and social history, American and British religious developments in full socio-political context became typical approaches. Some representatives of this style, until recently the dominant one, would be James Hastings Nichols, Robert Handy, Winthrop Hudson and Martin Marty.

One man contemporary with these American religious historians of the third school, who has transformed and broadened its perspectives, is Sidney Mead. Brauer notes that Mead shared his colleagues' quest for what is distinctive in American Christianity, but has located its uniqueness in a very complex series of events and in a "rich interplay between various forces."[5] Brauer labels Mead's major contribution to American religious history a rigorous "history of ideas" approach, characterized by Mead's Whiteheadian concern for the interplay of "steam and democracy," or material things and ideas. Referring especially to Mead's The Lively Experiment, Brauer terms his achievement as the "first genuinely sophisticated analysis" of religion in America.[6]

Brauer concludes his overview of the field by noting that American religious historians have begun to move beyond previous schools in a variety of ways. One of the ways in which the field can develop is suggested by Brauer himself. He would have the linking of two approaches, that of the historical perspective in American religion along with a "history of religions" perspective, the latter being illustrated by the scholarship of men like Mircea Eliade. As an example of this kind of combined perspective, Brauer offers the idea that the Kentucky revivals of 1800 could be studied as "rites of initiation". If, as the historians of religion suggest, such rites have forms and structures similar from culture to culture, an application of them might well illuminate some of the deeper currents of meaning in the American revivals.[7]

In the same volume as the Brauer essay, two contemporary American religious historians (listed by Brauer as heirs of the "church history" perspective) suggest other ways to recast or broaden the perspective of the field. Winthrop Hudson wants historians to move in the direction of recovering American religion's wider context, especially becoming more sensitive to British influences and British-American cross-fertilizations.[8] He asserts that such an Atlantic perspective would illuminate both the common and the distinct in European and American religion. Martin Marty echoes the call for an Atlantic perspective, but also suggests that the phenomenon of industrialization can be a very productive motif for doing American history, both secular and religious.[9] Marty says that looking at American religious history in terms of industrialization serves well to underscore the passage of Americans over the "humps of transition," especially the transition into the affluent and complex society which is America today.

The new directions for American religious history suggested by Brauer, Mead, Hudson and Marty are valuable because, among other reasons, they remind one that no single approach to so rich and complex a subject is itself sufficient. The transcultural perspective of ritual, the interplay of "steam and democracy," the Atlantic perspective, and the industrialization motif suggest new entries into the complexities of American religious history which deserve attention and serious work. Insofar as they help the historian develop more sensitivity to the context and dynamics of situations in American religious history, and broaden that field's perspective, the new directions will be rich additions to understanding the American past. Animated by the same spirit of reinterpretation underlying these suggestions, the present writer offers another direction, one drawn from a recent development in American historiography, namely, radical or "New Left" history.

II. The Radical Perspective and The History of Religion in America

What has been termed the radical perspective in American history, or "radical historiography," is certainly not new. Its contemporary practitioners draw on a tradition extending back at least to the late nineteenth century, encompassing early Marxist, anarchist, feminist, and black historians.[10] There is also the work of Charles Beard, who though himself a "progressive," has inspired a later generation of historians to insist that the economic context is an historical constant in the shaping of America, underlying many conflicts often perceived in largely political or moral terms by certain other historians.[11] The Marxist historians of the 1930's to the present have also contributed to the current historians who claim the name radical, although this is a legacy often received with significant qualifications, as the work of contemporary historians like Staughton Lynd demonstrates.[12]

Whatever the roots of the radical perspective, there were two major reasons for its becoming a major option for historians recently. One is a negative cause, the other a change of context. The negative cause was a sentiment that the historians of concensus and continuity, such as Boorstin, Hofstadter and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., either failed to note significant dissent to prevailing policies of various periods, or emphasized a growing liberal tradition that reflected more their own desire for what they considered non-ideological social change than a desire to understand the broader dynamics of an historical situation.[13] The change of context, of course, was the 1960's, in which a growing awareness of American racism, poverty, and economic-political hegemony over much of the world occasioned a fresh search for the roots of these phenomena.[14]

The historians who found the concensus-continuity school of American history too facile or self-congratulatory express their own values and methods in several different ways. Some, like Eugene Genovese, take a neo-Marxist approach to the subject, emphasizing classes and their interrelationships and the "hegemonic mechanisms of bourgeois society".[15] Staughton Lynd is more representative of a humanist-Left bent which looks for a usable past and builds on the work of native radicals and economic historians such as Charles Beard.[16] Another historian, Jesse Lemisch, has criticized the in-built elitist bias of most historians and maintains that the corrective is supplied by what he terms "history from the bottom up".[17] Lemisch holds that a perspective on the underclasses is necessary to understand a given historical situation, especially in situations where the "agency of the lower class" is a significant factor.[18] Lemisch has also stated that "both humanity and science dictate sympathy with history's victims."[19]

It seems to me that this contemporary turn in American historiography has a great deal to contribute to American religious history and historiography, especially insofar as that field has often practiced a bias in favor of the intellectual or religious elites as well as a neglect of inter-class relations and the economic questions that have provided context and the hidden agenda for many American churchmen. But it also seems true that an understanding of the ideologies and social-political dynamics of American religion within

American society contributes to the understanding of that history when done from a radical perspective. As Henry May has reminded this generation of historians, Christianity has been the language in which most Americans have raised and considered ultimate questions.[20] A cross-fertilization seems desirable. Envisioning such a cooperative labor, four categories suggest themselves. These are: choice, prophecy, legitimation (as a class function), and justice. Each of the four categories is drawn from resources in both the history of American religion and the general field of American history, as well as at least one major borrowing from theoretical sociology. Taken together, these ideas provide the outline of a rationale for a radical perspective in American religious history.

A. Choice

The first category is that of choice. Against determinism and an historical vision that elevates "causes" and "factors" to a near-divine significance, it suggests that attention to the role of human purposiveness and decision most nearly approximates the historical situation as lived by the actors within it. Staughton Lynd has suggested that both Marxist and non-Marxist historians tend to view history from the sidelines, giving too little weight to the ethical dimension which is critical for the historical actor. In this respect, Lynd says, historians often regard as historically determined what is merely historically past, and do violence to the sense of reality of the historical actor in his or her present moment.[21] One of the tasks of the radical perspective, then, is to uncover the ethical dimension of the actors in the historical situation under study. The underlying assumption would be that "men can be beasts or brothers at any level of technological development".[22]

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B. Prophecy

The second category is that of prophecy. Such a category directs the historian to those critics in the historical situation who offer the possibility of the renewal of societal institutions by their "critical discontent".[23] While it is often difficult to distinguish prophecy from criticism, one criterion that might be applied is suggested by Sidney Mead:

> . . . an institution is to be judged by the amount and quality of the awareness of the tension between its ideal and its actuality that its members exhibit and by the realism of the efforts they are making to reduce the gap. This "critical discontent which is the gadfly of civilization", and of all religious denominations, is the hallmark of the prophetic posture and the source of the perennial renewal of the life of institutions.[24]

Mead's analysis suggests that one criterion for identifying the prophetic (versus the merely critical) posture is the extent to which the individual or movement within a society succeeds in identifying the gap between an institution's "high myths", and its contemporary reality.[25] In the American context, Mead finds that religious institutions, protected and encouraged by the government, have often been the nurturing-places, if not always the adult homes, of such prophetic critics.[26] If this is so, one of the directions in which a radical perspective on American history must look is toward the churches. By the same token, the historian of American religion may function to identify the roots, context and language source for many of American history's most important prophets. By employing such a perspective, both kinds of historian may challenge the implicit assumption that the most important persons in an historical situation are those who emerge as victors or managers. Such persons, from the viewpoint of a radical perspective, may simply represent an instance of self- or class-interest which effectively stifled contemporary prophecy or rendered it impotent.

C. Legitimation

The third category is legitimation. By looking to the sources and dynamics of a society's legitimation of itself in the minds of its members, insight is gained into the role and function of the dominant class (es) and the means by which it sustained itself. The category is suggested by sociologist Thomas Luckmann. His thesis is that societies are concrete embodiments of worldviews which actually operate as "religions", that is, perspectives linking a society's members to something they perceive as transcendent. A person growing up in and operating in a given society, says Luckmann, is socialized into a symbolic universe of meaning and significance which is crucial for the formation of his individual self, especially in the key areas of consciousness and conscience. The worldview transcends the individual; among other things, this means that the worldview exercises indirect influence on conduct by social controls which reflect the social order and its underlying configuration of meaning. The individual experiences the world as both subjective and objective, immanent and transcendent.[27]

One dimension of Luckmann's thesis that the historian of American religion and the radical American historian, among others, may employ has to do with the transcendence of the worldview for the individual. Luckmann says that a worldview is transcendent for persons within a society when it is understood as a manifestation of a universal order, a "cosmion relfecting a cosmos".[28] The worldview thus points beyond itself. The process by which the worldview assumes this character in the minds of a society's members also functions, Luckmann maintains, as a "mechanism of great significance in the legitimation of an established social order".[29] Given the pervasive character of religious institutions in most periods of American history, I am suggesting that they may be viewed as one of the chief ways in which American social orders, their context, were made to appear legitimate, indeed transcendentally legitimate, in the minds of those nurtured by and addressed by the religious institutions.

What the category of legitimation ought to suggest to the historian of American religion is that the pronouncements by churchmen on public issues represent only part of the way in which their institutions reinforced the social order. At the level of family devotions, Sunday schools, sermons and other religious events, socialization was taking place which inherently, I suggest, placed the surrounding social order in a transcendent light. This was accomplished in at least three ways. The first is that of "borrowed significance". When the church was viewed as God's instrument and its sacred writings as divine revelation, anything supported by it, tacitly or explicitly, received by implication a divine blessing (or at least not divine condemnation). The second way in which churches legitimated their surrounding social orders was simply that the reading and interpretations of its biblical materials, and its sermons, ceremonies and prayers, never occurred in vacuo; persons participating in the life of a religious community did so in the full context of their individual, social, political and economic lives. Bidden to do so or not, these persons "read into", and took counsel and guidance from words and actions they considered sacred; having been socialized into a particular social order, it was not at all a special step for them to invest their interests and perceptions of the societal good with a transcendent force. The third way is related to the first two; churchmen, lay and clerical, faced the continuous expectations of their fellow citizens to support social institutions. Unless there existed a special reason for a religious community to stand apart from the mores and interests of the social community (as in the case of the Quakers, on occasion), such support could usually be counted upon for at least tacit, if not full-fledged and enthusiastic legitimation. Sometimes the price exacted for a general societal legitimation would be that governing bodies attend to some special reform or action desired by the churchmen, as in areas such as temperance, bible reading and prayer in schools, and Sabbath Laws.

D. Justice

The final category useful for application to a radical perspective on American religious and secular history is that of justice. Of all four of the categories, this is perhaps the most problematic and the one most open to historical abuse. At the same time, it is also the heart of an historical perspective seeking to move away from a "detached" understanding of the past. The "meaning" of an historical situation from such a perspective would have to include an analysis of the relationships between groups in power politically, economically, and socially and those not in power. Events, institutions, ideas, and movements take place in a context in which power is exercised, often at the expense of some or many in a given society. Questions arising from a concern for justice would include: Who profited most, economically or politically, from what happened? In whose name and for whose benefit was power exercised? In what ways and in what senses did the leadership in the situation speak of itself as acting in the name of all its people? What individuals or groups lost most in the functioning of the society during the period under study? In sum, what were the human effects of this society at all of its levels?

These are not new questions, just as what I am terming the radical perspective is not new. Consciously or not, historians bring their own age's sense of what is right, good or just to their subject situation, and frequently discern answers to questions like the above. One of the virtues, historiographically speaking, of the radical perspective in general, and its concern for justice in particular, is that the historian is conscious of his own slant, and makes that clear to his reader. But there is a more cogent reason for focusing on questions of justice within the historical situation one is studying.

"Sympathy for the powerless brings us closer to objectivity."[30] By this statement, Jesse Lemisch is affirming his belief that societies are best understood when the historian is able to gain a critical distance from their dominant mythologies. If one confines his research and analysis to the words and actions of the articulate and the powerful, he is likely to take on at least elements of their perspective and judgment. As a corrective, Lemisch envisions an approach which has two components. First, he says the historian should continue to examine the elite, not as surrogates for the society below them, but asking how their beliefs and conduct impinged on the rest of their society. Secondly, the historian will attempt to study the conduct and ideology of those people on the bottom of the society. The latter is a difficult task, but one which Lemisch feels is necessary if historians' generalizations about the past are to have more than limited validity. Such an approach, Lemisch argues, is in line with Herbert Marcuse's idea that a society may be most accurately judged (in the sense of "understood") through an examination of its worst injustices, thereby uncovering "the deepest layer of the whole system, the structure which

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holds it together, the essential condition for the efficiency of its political and economic organization".[31]

The importance of the concern for justice in American religious history stems from three characteristics of American religious communities. First, they often were the most articulate interpreters of what Sidney Mead has termed the "high myths" of the American civilization, symbols and rationales which would be employed both by ruling groups and dissenters in their respective social roles. Second, churches often were the platforms from which both defenders of the status quo and their critics launched their activities; prophets and legitimators could frequently claim a base in their religious communities, thereby borrowing significance from the high-status position these groups held in the society. Third, the scriptures and ethical traditions of American religious communities themselves speak to concerns of justice, however construed, frequently enough to occasion their use in defense or critique of a given societal practice. In short, it is within American religious history that many of the questions raised by an historical concern for justice may find major elements of answers.

III. Problems of a Radical Perspective

There appear to this writer to be at least two major sets of problems related to assuming a radical perspective in American religious and secular history, one related to meaning, the other related to method. Some have been touched on in the previous section, but I should like to place these problems in somewhat sharper focus.

A. Meaning

The problem of meaning, I believe, can best be raised in light of what I have identified as the contextual cause of the radical perspective as recently employed in American history, namely the political and social upheavals of the 1960's. The events of that decade, I maintain, have been responsible for the development of certain sympathies that certainly qualify the historiographical visions of those who work within a radical perspective. The response to these touches upon the meaning of the historian's vocation, particularly in terms of a search for integration of one's life and one's scholarship. One benefit of raising such issues is that the clear stating of the historian's presuppositions before his readers enables them to better judge the validity and veracity of his or her work.

I believe it can be safely observed that the climactic movements of the 1960's were the civil rights and anti-war movements. These were climactic in the sense that both in themselves and in the developments that sprung from them, or that were parallel to them, a significant change in consciousness was effected among a portion of the American people.[32] Besides those two movements, the college and university upheavals, the counter-culture and its symbols and institutions, the new feminist impulse, and the black movement have also challenged a number of persons and institutions in ways unimaginable in the 1950's. Three points of a change in consciousness related to these movements seem relevant to the value-set of the historians who have recently sought to employ the radical perspective in American history.

The first point is the realization that there is a certain consistency to the exercise of power in America, with respect to both domestic and foreign situations. Specific instances of segregation and discrimination, for instance, are seen, not as isolated phenomena, but rather as part of a society-wide pattern of racism. The Vietnam War, viewed through the eyes of many Americans, was no mistake, but one logical (if tragic) development of the Cold War mentality, the sense of American superiority, and the record of interventionism in the affairs of other countries which America built up. Weighing this change of consciousness, one observes that many Americans have begun to suspect patterns of overall political, social, and economic interests that indicate a structure of power which is group, if not class oriented. Whatever explanation one offers for the interrelatedness of these phenomena, the sense of consistency does appear clearly.

The second point, related to the first, is the discovery of the systemic (vs. the personal) dimensions of evil and injustice. Hardly a new insight, this shift marks the realization that persons can be "of good will" and yet can be involved in systems, structures and institutions which both multiply self-interests and achieve a massive weight and force of their own. American capitalism, the "military-industrial complex", and the converging interests of business, labor and universities in economic and/or defense research and training became symbolic embodiments of this systemic insight. If the first insight perceived a consistency in the exercise of power in American society and its institutions, the second marked a consciousness of how this connectedness operated practically, usually to the disadvantage of many groups, domestic or foreign, and for the benefit of a relative few.

The third point is a sense of the contours of an American civil or national religion. Academically charted by scholars such as Robert Bellah, this insight represents both an historical and contemporary appreciation of how much the language, customs and symbols of American self-understanding and sense of mission have the character of a religious faith.[33] A reading of presidential inaugural addresses and messages, war-time sermons by prominent churchmen, and newspaper editorials defending American customs and policies at various points in American history, suggests the presence of a religion of the republic that has more than rhetorical significance.[34] In other words, underlying American policies and practices has been a vision which invests this country and its civilization with divine approbation. To refer back to the theoretical sociology of Thomas Luckmann, there is a sense of transcendence given by Americans to their social order, and it has often gone beyond a vague sense of rightness or order; instead, a sense of directedness by a personal God who cut across denominational boundaries was the way in which the transcendent meaning of their social order was construed.

All three insights that have arisen from the events of the 1960's may be taken to be intelligent perceptions, upon which no action would be taken. This would be in the spirit of Archibald Macleish's Ars Poetica: "A poem does not mean but be."[35] Yet it is the conviction of those historians in our time who espouse the radical perspective that history ought not claim such freedom for itself, and, in practice (consciously or not, on the part of the historian), does not. Why does one study history? Because of its meaning for the present and its meaning for the future. Such meaning, the radical historians (among others) maintain, can neither be "bracketed" nor disclaimed. At the personal level for the radical historians, this dimension of meaning represents a determination, "to unify their politics, their scholarship and their lives".[36] This extends to a broader level, and it is here that the three insights bear on the purpose of history as a discipline or field of study. If, at various times and throughout American history, it is seen that there has been a consistency in the exercise of power, systemic patterns of privilege and power, and a civil religion undergirding its activities, the present and future will appear in a different light. If, as Martin Marty suggests, men act in the light of envisioned futures whose raw materials are things remembered,[37] then an appropriation of the American past in light of the three insights (among others) suggests that the most fundamental meaning of history is the presentation of alternatives of our past in the hope of changing the future. David O'Brien says it well:

> It is part of our task as historians to induce in men an awareness that all things human are changing, that the present conditions are always in part a product of specifically human choices, which can be changed and altered in significant degrees.[38]

O'Brien also quotes Charles Beard in a similar vein:

> If history is nothing except a 'chain of causes' and individuals are merely atoms in the flow of things, then all of us, students and teachers alike, are mere puppets in a mechanized play. If, on the other hand, history-as-actuality is made in part at least by thought and purpose--by ideas--then there is room in the world for will, design, courage, and action, for the thinker who is also a doer.[39]

In light of the above, American history, secular and religious, becomes not a vehicle for the kind of understanding which could be described as "detached", but rather one that is "engaged". The engagement of the radical historian is that of bringing his or her perceptions of the past and present to the historical task, in the name of what more humane possibilities might be envisioned for the future--and all of this directed towards what seems a better history for his or her time.

The climactic events of the 1960's have caused many historians to adopt a radical conception of the meaning of doing history. The insights they have gained and sought to apply to a reinterpretation of their past have impelled them in a direction in which the present and the future become as important heuristically as the materials of the past with which they do research. Historians who have come to this radical perception of the meaning of doing history should also realize that such a change should raise significant methodological questions.

B. Method

Whether ideology is a conscious part of his work or not, every historian faces the problem of bias. In the selection of materials, the reconstruction of context and particularly in the realms of evaluation and judgment, the historian cannot escape the limitations imposed by the very activity of one person seeking to understand a complex of events in the past. To that task, the historian brings his own worldview, his individual and social experience, in short, all the ways in which he has experienced himself and his own times. The problems which this creates historiographically are well known and a large body of literature has arisen attempting to understand history, historians and the fundamental limitations of the field.[40]

When the radical stance is a conscious part of the historian's presuppositions, the charge of bias may be even more well-taken. The constant problem to historians of misreading data or misconstruing direction and purpose in an historical event may well be heightened by the fact that one has chosen a slant, an interpretative base such as the four categories discussed previously in this chapter. Simply put, these are most definitely grounded in contemporary experience and may not have reference to the event or period one is studying, at least insofar as persons then did not share the same worldview or value-set. The question then becomes one of justifying the radical perspective and its penchant for judging the past (in the sense of determining justice).

The starting place for responding to this criticism is the location of the radical perspective within its field of history. Any historian may be said to be faced with the responsibility of developing an adequate critique of his subject situation. By critique I mean a sensitive perspective on the main lines of events, words, characters, institutions and values under study. Questions of sources available and not available, words and their nuances for different historical actors, the meaning and significance of data, are just some of the things the historian must consider. Another important element common to historical situations is that of option. What options were experienced as realistically available given the worldviews of the historical actors and their projection of consequences should they choose one way or the other? What things made some choices look better than others? Whether one adopts a radical perspective or any other, the historian faces the problem that his worldview may preclude empathy and virtually no sense of the options with which the historical actor felt himself faced. Particularly if one seeks to raise questions of justice or injustice in history as part of historical understanding, can one be said to give a fair reading of the historical situation?

This writer believes so. One may call himself an historian if he does careful historical research, that is, if he follows the general types of questions raised in terms of critique, and if he proceeds to a reconstruction of the historical situation which takes serious account of the way it appeared to persons and institutions within it. Underlying these matters is the historian's motivation, particularly in the area of meaning, as indicated in the preceding section. This is where the historian's own experience and worldview bear watching. He or she may have certain commitments hidden, at least from the reader, and yet be doing history very much in line with those commitments. If one becomes conscious of his or her personal context and commitments, and at least announces them, one is closer, I believe, to a contemporary understanding of the past with fewer pretensions to commitment-less objectivity and lack of bias. If both historian and reader are clear about those commitments, bias and slant may be more fairly gauged in their role in the reading of historical materials. First, the reader is made aware of the historian's predispositions. Secondly, the reader may be sensitized to the question of the meaning of the past to contemporary times. In this regard, some of the recent historiography of abolitionism in America is instructive.[41]

I maintain that, besides providing for careful and self-conscious research, the radical perspective can help correct the problem of bias and contribute to the goal of contemporary meaning by the use of prophets and other "outsiders" of the situation under study. My suggestion is rooted in Sidney Mead's understanding of the role of prophets within institutions and civilizations, and also Staughton Lynd's and other radical historians' search for radical strains in American history. There are several reasons why an appreciation of the prophets and the members of underclasses of a subject-situation illuminate it historically.

However infrequently evidence is available, the excluded sometimes speak most eloquently about the empowered. Indians, blacks, and women in America, are frequently their own best analysts and advocates.[42] To some extent as well, those who take up the cause of the oppressed may, at least occasionally, correctly echo the sentiments and perceptions of the people they seek to help. Thus, the historian adopting a radical perspective ought to search out statements by excluded or minority or powerless groups within his subject-situation, as well as statements by any persons presuming to speak for them, as indicators of how it felt to live within that situation out of power, if not actively oppressed.

The second methodological reason for the use of dissenters and outsiders is the sensitivity they bring to oppressive dimensions of their culture. Particularly, in the case of radical dissenters, the choice to stand on certain values, even "absolutes" like immediate abolition or non-resistance, gives a sensitivity in areas where those values are seen or felt to be violated. Sensitivities of other persons in the situation are simply not so acute, I maintain, because they do not have the same stake if the values were violated.

Finally, entrance into the perspectives and worldviews of radicals and outsiders within the subject-situation corrects the bias the contemporary historian brings to the reading of the data. Because those persons are well within the situation, experiencing its oppression more acutely than any co-member of their society, attention to their words may greatly minimize the danger of "reading into" an age sympathies and sensitivities foreign to it. Even where worldviews are vastly or significantly different, as in the case of Indians, the original black slaves, and immigrants newly arrived in America, the contemporary historian using their words is still getting somewhat outside his own worldview and into one at least contemporaneous to the dominant one of the situation. Here also, the use of the words of sympathetic members of the dominant culture may help provide evidence that more choice than ignorance was involved in the dominant group's rejection of change that would favor the group out of power. The presumption would be that if a social injustice was intelligible to some members of the dominant group, many others in the same group would realize the same thing, though not necessarily act on their realization.

To be sure, there are problems in using the words of dissenters and outsiders of an historical situation to correct one's contemporary biases. Such persons may have had too narrow a focus and a disappreciation of the complexities of power and change. Some abolitionists, for example, who on moral grounds were anti-politics, certainly limited their appeal to converts or potential converts to their vision, rather than the general populace. Such persons could easily be dismissed as fanatical by a majority of citizens who mostly sought their own peace and security. And, in the case of both prophets and persons outside the dominant power group, there were ambiguities in their lives and values which could be seized upon by adversaries to discredit their positions. Nevertheless, historical attention to both the undergroups and the prophets within dominant classes _or_, significantly, their absence goes a long way toward answering the methodological problems raised by the conscious use of a radical perspective.

IV. Conclusions

In the preceding sections, I have sketched a rationale for linking the radical perspective in American history with the history of American religion. Such a linking, I maintain, makes sense in terms of the expansion of the latter field and the legitimacy of the radical perspective within the historical enterprise. I have suggested that four categories make special sense in seeking such a linking, namely, choice, prophecy, legitimation, and justice, and suggested that materials and

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angles of vision in both fields contributed to a fuller understanding of American history. I then discussed the dimension of meaning and some methodological problems that arise from the adoption of the radical perspective in American history.

The meaning and usefulness of this perspective for future studies in American religious history is three-fold. It enables and directs the historian to seek out data, frame questions and reach conclusions that reflect, as nearly as possible, what Dilthey calls the "lived experience" (Erlebnis) of persons at all levels of the historical situation under study. Insofar as it takes seriously underclasses and what happens to them and through them, it moves away from even an implicit elitism in the selection of persons or groups for historical study. Secondly, in its borrowings from the sociology of knowledge (e.g., the process of legitimation), this perspective focuses upon the actual operation of worldviews, values and priorities rather than simply identifying important symbols, words and ideas. Because it looks to the dynamics of individuation, socialization and the on-going reinforcement and development of worldviews within an historical situation, I believe it comes closer than some perspectives to reproducing life as it was experienced in the minds of the historical actors, and comes closer, as well, to placing the consciousness of historical actors in the light of the actual effects of their behavior and decisions. Finally, I believe that what I am calling the radical perspective allows the American religious historian (and his secular counterpart) to engage the question of the meaning of doing history in a primary, rather than

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a secondary way. In saying this, I echo the above-mentioned thoughts of Charles Beard, David O'Brien and Staughton Lynd that the most important function of doing history is that it provides analogues, alternatives, and at least some of the raw materials for judging the present and changing the future. As an American religious historian, I am holding that the cognitive dimension of doing history may most properly and usefully suggest a prophetic dimension as well.

NOTES

[1] Jerald C. Brauer, "Changing Perspectives on Religion in America", Reinterpretations in American Church History, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), pp. 1-28.

[2] Ibid., pp. 1-4.

[3] Ibid., pp. 5-8.

[4] Ibid., pp. 8-11.

[5] Ibid., p. 10.

[6] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[7] Ibid., pp. 25-28. A colleague, James S. Dalton, has written just such a study for his dissertation at the University of Chicago Divinity School. Dalton, Catherine Albanese, Wayne Elsey and Sandra Rockwood, all presently or formerly students at Chicago, presented an interesting panel on American popular religion for the American Society of Church History annual meeting at San Francisco, December 28, 1973. All four utilized either an history of religions approach or a structuralist (a la Levi-Strauss) approach or both to deal with their respective subjects. While the present writer has some reservations about this new avenue into religious materials, the four panelists demonstrated that Brauer's suggestion, supplemented or not by structuralist categories, provides a creative and useful perspective for the religious historian.

[8] Winthrop Hudson, "How American is Religion in America?", Ibid., pp. 153-165.

[9] Martin Marty, "Reinterpreting American Religious History in Context", Ibid., pp. 195-218.

[10] Cf. "Special Issue on Radical Historiography", Radical America, vol. 4, 1970. See especially the Introduction, pp. 1-4; Paul Buhle, "American Marxist Historiography, 1900-1940", pp. 5-35; Paul Richards, "W.E.B. Dubois and American Social History: The Evolution of A Marxist", pp. 37-65.

[11] Ibid., passim. See also Staughton Lynd, "Beyond Beard", in: Barton W. Bernstein, ed., Towards A New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), pp. 46-64.

[12] Cf. the works of Staughton Lynd listed below.

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[13] See Barton W. Bernstein, *op. cit.*: "Introduction", pp. v-vii. Also, James O'Brien, et al, " 'New Left Historians' of the 1960's", *Radical America*, vol. 4, 1970, pp. 81-106. This latter article is the product of several individuals' thought and research. It is a descriptive and somewhat analytical review of many radical historians and their writings, presented from a sympathetic, but also critical point of view. One excerpt, dealing with histories of American radicalism written by "New Left" historians might stand at least as a partial description of the radical perspective in American historiography:

> First they sought to provide an anti-critique of concensus-continuity historiography by showing the numbers and accomplishments of radical individuals and groups in the past. Second, they attempted to re-analyze the strategic ideas of past radicals to reveal what led to their limited successes and their greater shortcomings. And finally, they wanted to indicate that American radicalism had been, previous to Communism's hegemony on the Left, heterogeneous, frequently contentious, but still generally democratic and responsive to American conditions. (p. 97)

[14] Cf. Bernstein, *op. cit.*, pp. ix-x. See also Clifford Solway, "Turning History Upside Down", *Saturday Review*, June 20, 1970, pp. 13-15, 62-64. The Solway article is a popular, but well-informed description of the work of radical historians and their activities at recent annual meetings of the American Historical Association.

[15] Eugene Genovese, "Marxian Interpretations of the Slave South", in: Bernstein, *op. cit.*, p. 120. See also by Genovese: *The Political Economy of Slavery* (New York: Pantheon, 1965).

[16] Staughton Lynd, *Slavery and the United States Constitution* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967); *Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1968); and, *Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965).

[17] Cf. Jesse Lemisch, "The American Revolution Seen from the Bottom Up", in: Bernstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-45.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 26. Lemisch uses the phrase, "agency of the lower class", as employed by E.P. Thompson, that is, "the degree to which they ("working people") contributed, by conscious efforts, to the making of history". Cf. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Pantheon, 1964), p. 12.

[19] Bernstein, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[20] Henry F. May, "The Recovery of American Religious History", *American Historical Review*, vol. 70.

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[21] Staughton Lynd, "A Profession of History", New American Review 2, (New York and Toronto: New American Library, 1968), pp. 199-200.

[22] Ibid., p. 200. See also Eugene Genovese, art. cit., pp. 93-94, where he criticizes his fellow Marxists for insisting on "Marxian economic determinism." Genovese's point is that no simple over-arching scheme of economic reality does justice to the complexities of particular economic situations. He suggests also that such a conceptuality is not found in Marx's writings.

[23] Sidney Mead, quoting Alfred North Whitehead, in: "Reinterpretation in American Church History", Brauer, op. cit., p. 181.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., p. 185.

[26] Ibid., pp. 188-191.

[27] Thomas Luckmann, The Invisible Religion: The Problem of Religion in Modern Society (New York: Macmillan, 1967), p. 52. See also, Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality, A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1967), and, Peter L. Berger, The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion (New York: Doubleday Anchor, 1969). One sociologist has told this writer that the "legitimation" idea has its roots in the "Frankfurt school" of Marxist social and sociological criticism, but I have not yet traced this down.

[28] Ibid. Luckmann here uses a phrase of Eric Voegelin's, from the latter's The New Science of Politics (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952). As Luckmann employs it, the phrase means that a given social order is perceived as paradigmatic of a transcendent order of values.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Jesse Lemisch, art. cit., p. 6.

[31] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[32] For one intelligent observer's reading of how the 1960's has affected American consciousness, see Sidney Ahlstrom, A Religious History of the American People (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 1079-1096. Cf. also Ahlstrom's article on the decade and its meaning for American religious history: "The Moral and Theological Revolution of the 1960's and Its Implications for American Religious History", in H.J. Bass, ed. The State of American History (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971), pp. 99-118. Also, his article, "The Radical Turn in Theology and Ethics: Why It Occured in the 1960's", Annals of the American Academy, no. 387, 1970, pp. 1-13.

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[33] Robert N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America", Daedalus, vol. 96, 1967, pp. 1-21. See also, Conrad Cherry, God's New Israel: Religious Interpretations of American Destiny (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), "Introduction", pp. 1-24.

[34] Cherry, Ibid., passim. For a somewhat different reading of the materials, see: Sidney E. Mead, "The Nation with the Soul of a Church", Church History, vol. 37, 1967, pp. 262-283.

[35] Archibald Macleish, "Ars Poetica", Collected Poems, 1917-1952 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952), p. 40.

[36] David O'Brien, "American Historiography and American Culture", Cross Currents, vol. 20, 1970, p. 317. In an unpublished talk before historians, Staughton Lynd has said:

> We are no better men than were our predecessors in the craft [history] and without doubt are every bit as much culture-bound in our history as were they. Why be afraid or ashamed to admit this? It does not mean that everything is subjective, or that written history is an act of faith. It simply means that our own experience has suggested to us new ways of looking at the past. At issue is not whether history, like a lump of dough, can be made into any shape one pleases. The question is rather that if history, like a mountain, can be viewed from many different sides all equally "objective", the historian's personal experience may legitimately suggest to him new passes and valleys which are really there.

"Wearing Two Hats: Historian and Peace Activist", unpublished address to American Historical Association Committee on Peace Research in History, December, 1967.

[37] O'Brien, art. cit., p. 326. Marty makes the suggestion in, The Search for a Usable Future (New York: Harper Row, 1969).

[38] O'Brien, Ibid., pp. 329-330.

[39] Ibid., p. 329.

[40] The present context does not allow even an overview of the immense body of writings in historiography. I have found the following to be of help, however: Herbert Butterfield, Man on His Past: The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship (Cambridge, England: University of

Cambridge Press, 1955); Robin G. Collingwood, The Idea of History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); Gordon Leff, History and Social Theory (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1969); John Higham, with Leonard Krieger and Felix Gilbert, History. The Princeton Studies: Humanistic Scholarship in America, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965); Hugh Hale Bellot, American History and American Historians: A Review of Recent Contributions to the Interpretation of the History of the United States. 1st American edition (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952); finally, a delightful if off-beat work which joins fine historical essays with suggestions for readings in detective literature is: Robin W. Winks, The Historian as Detective: Essays on Evidence (New York: Harper Row, 1969).

[41] Four recent works on abolitionism demonstrate a keen concern for the relevance of the abolitionist experience, historically understood, to the concerns of present-day America: Aileen Kraditor, Means and Ends in American Abolitionism: Garrison and His Critics on Strategy and Tactics, 1834-1850 (New York: Vintage Books, 1970); Martin Dubermann, ed., The Anti-Slavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967); and, Staughton Lynd, Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism, previously cited. In Lynd's work, see especially Chapter Four, "Cast Your Whole Vote", pp. 100-129; and Chapter Five, "My Country Is the World", pp. 130-159. In the days when non-violence was waning among black and other activists in the 1960's, historian Carleton Mabee wrote: Black Freedom: The Nonviolent Abolitionists From 1830 Through the Civil War (New York: Macmillan, 1970). One of Mabee's concerns was to point up what could ensue when non-violent protests were allowed to fail.

[42] Two source-books which bear this out are: William Loren Katz, ed., Eyewitness: The Negro in American History (New York: Pitman Publishing Company, 1967); and, Johnny (Appleseed) Rossen, The Little Red, White and Blue Book: Revolutionary Quotations by Great Americans (New York: Grove Press, 1969).

APPENDIX II

Population Statistics for Kansas Territory

Table I

Population by Year

1855 --	8,601	[Indians not counted]
1856 --	24,000	(est.) [Secretary of State W.L.Marcy estimated 30,000]
1857 --	25,321	
1858 --	55,000	
1859 --	71.770	
1860 --	107,206	

Source: First Biennial Report of the Kansas State Board of Agriculture, 1877 -- 1878 (Topeka: State Printing Office, 1878).

Table II

1860 U.S. Census Figures for Kansas Territory By States of Origin

Ohio -- 11,617

Missouri -- 11,356

Indiana -- 9,945

Illinois -- 9,367

Kentucky -- 6,556

Pennsylvania -- 6,463

New York -- 6,331

Iowa -- 4,008

Virginia -- 3,487

Tennessee -- 2,569

Wisconsin -- 1,351

Massachusetts -- 1,282

North Carolina -- 1,234

Michigan -- 1.137

Vermont -- 902

Maine -- 728

Connecticut -- 650

Maryland -- 620

New Jersey -- 499

Source: Manuscript by George Root, K.S.H.S.

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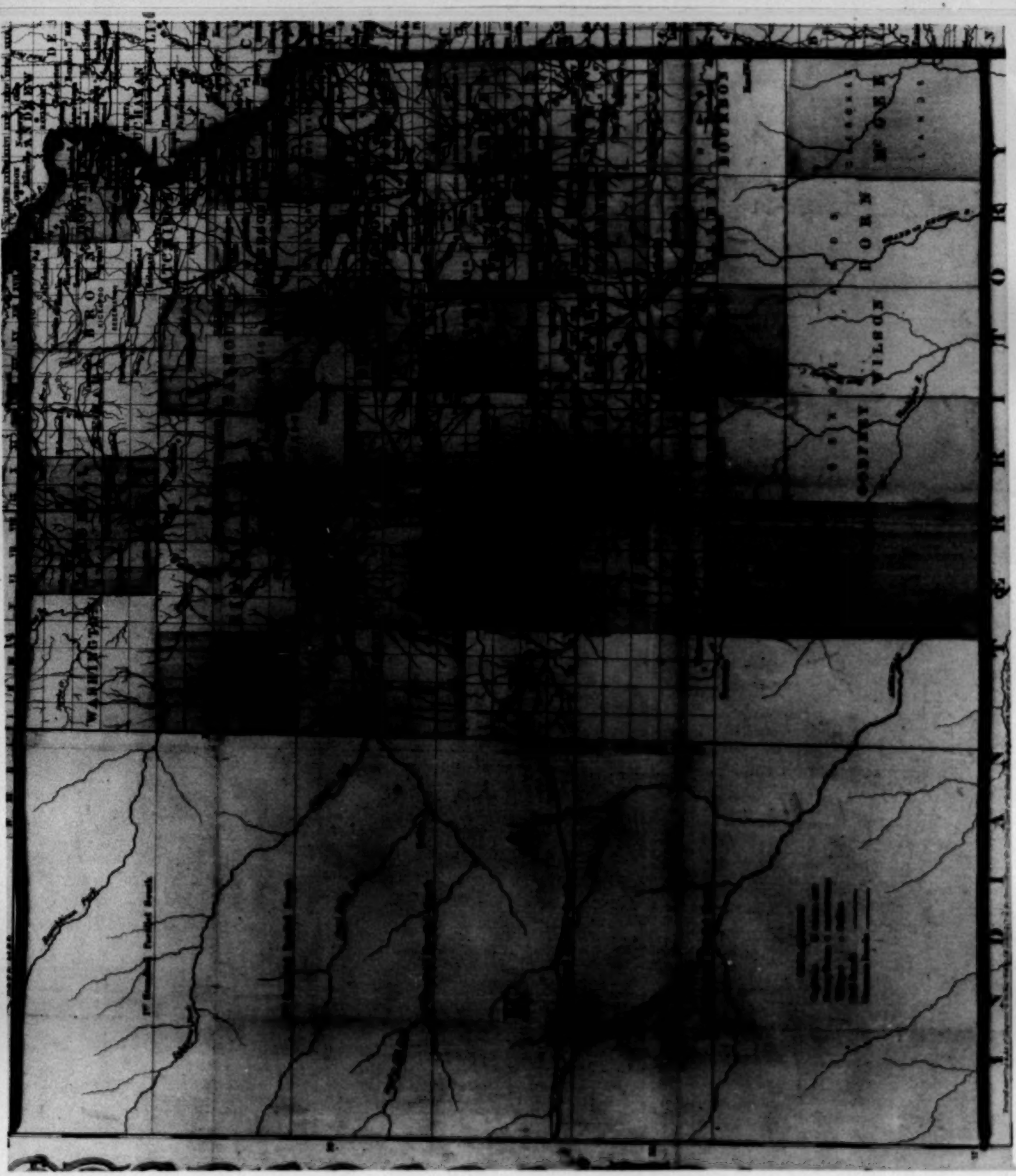
Table III

1860 Census Figures and Other Sources: Territorial Population By Race

White --	106,390
Black --	627
Indian --	15,000 (est.)

Sources: Carroll D. Clark and Roy L. Roberts, People of Kansas: A Demographic and Sociological Study (Topeka: The State Planning Board of Kansas, 1936. Also, William Zornow, Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State.


WASHINGTON
BROWN
BOURBON
McGEE
DORN
WILSON
GODFREY
INDIAN TERRITORY
1st Standard Parallel South

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APPENDIX III

Map of Territorial Kansas, 1859

Map: J.H. Colton's Nebraska and Kanzas, 1859. K.S.H.S.

APPENDIX IV

Chronology

1854 -- May: Kansas--Nebraska Act.
June--October: Major settlements begun (Atchison, Leavenworth, Lawrence).
November: Territorial election for congressional delegate won by pro-slavery man.

1855 -- March: Territorial election of "bogus" legislature (pro-slavery). Election frauds.
August--October: Free-state movement organized, issuing in Topeka Constitution and ratifying election.
November--December: "Wakarusa War."

1856 -- May--September: "Bleeding Kansas" period. Much violence. Lawrence attack. Potawatomie massacre. First land sales.

1857 -- March: Lecompton Constitution (pro-slavery).
October: Free-state party wins majority in territorial legislature.

1858 -- January: Lecompton Constitution rejected.
August: English bill rejected.

1859 -- July: Wyandotte Constitution (anti-slavery).
October: Wyandotte Constitution ratified.

1861 -- Kansas admitted as a state under the Wyandotte Constitution.

APPENDIX V

Suggestions for Further Research

There is more to be probed with respect to the religious history of Kansas during its territorial period. Local church records not in the Kansas State Historical Society collections might be discovered at the churches themselves or in state or national denominational archives. A more intensive study of the records of Indian-White interaction could be revealing with respect to missionary reaction to Indian removal. The Kansas Historical Quarterly in recent years has been providing examples of the kind of work that can be done. Sources for Blacks in the territory are apparently slim, as Blacks did not become a major element in the Kansas population until during the Civil War and the 1870's; still, a review of existing sources for some black viewpoints might prove fruitful. A more detailed picture of conditions for poor white farmers might be drawn; Paul Gates' work in this regard has not, to my knowledge, been supplemented with much fresh data. An integration of the religious history of all major groups in the territory to supplement the monographs of Emory Lindquist and the earlier work of scholars such as Holter and Beckman remains to be done. And if this writer's suggestion that northern Protestants in Kansas anticipate social Christianity by two or more decades, perhaps follow-up work could be done asking questions such as: did the reform and social Christian posture of Protestants in Kansas become swallowed up in the continuing temperance crusade? what of these churches and the womans' sufferage movement? is there any carry-over to populism from the territorial period? did Sheldon's, In His Steps build on a continuing tradition, or was it a response to events taking place outside of Kansas? was there any belated interest in black persons as their population in the state increased?

Further application of the Berger--Luckmann approach in the sociology of knowledge to historical and religious--historical work may take the form of more precisely charting the relationship of particular theologies and worldview. The latter term as employed in this study needs precision if it is to be used in dialogue with the sophisticated theological analyses of scholars such as George Marsden and Timothy Smith. The modes of legitimation described in the first chapter and the appended methodological essay need testing in other cases of religious--social--political interaction.

A final thought for further work concerns the findings of this study with respect to the continuing debate over the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner. One may ask if the situation in Kansas in which eastern ideologies played a role of tremendous significance for developing institutions in Kansas, might this be suggested that at least by this time, the east and north had more to do with the eventual outcome than a simplistic "westernizing" thesis would suggest. The revisionists of the frontier thesis may well find support in the role of northerners, though a minority in the territory, who loomed so large in Kansas Territory.

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